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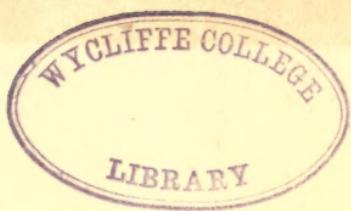
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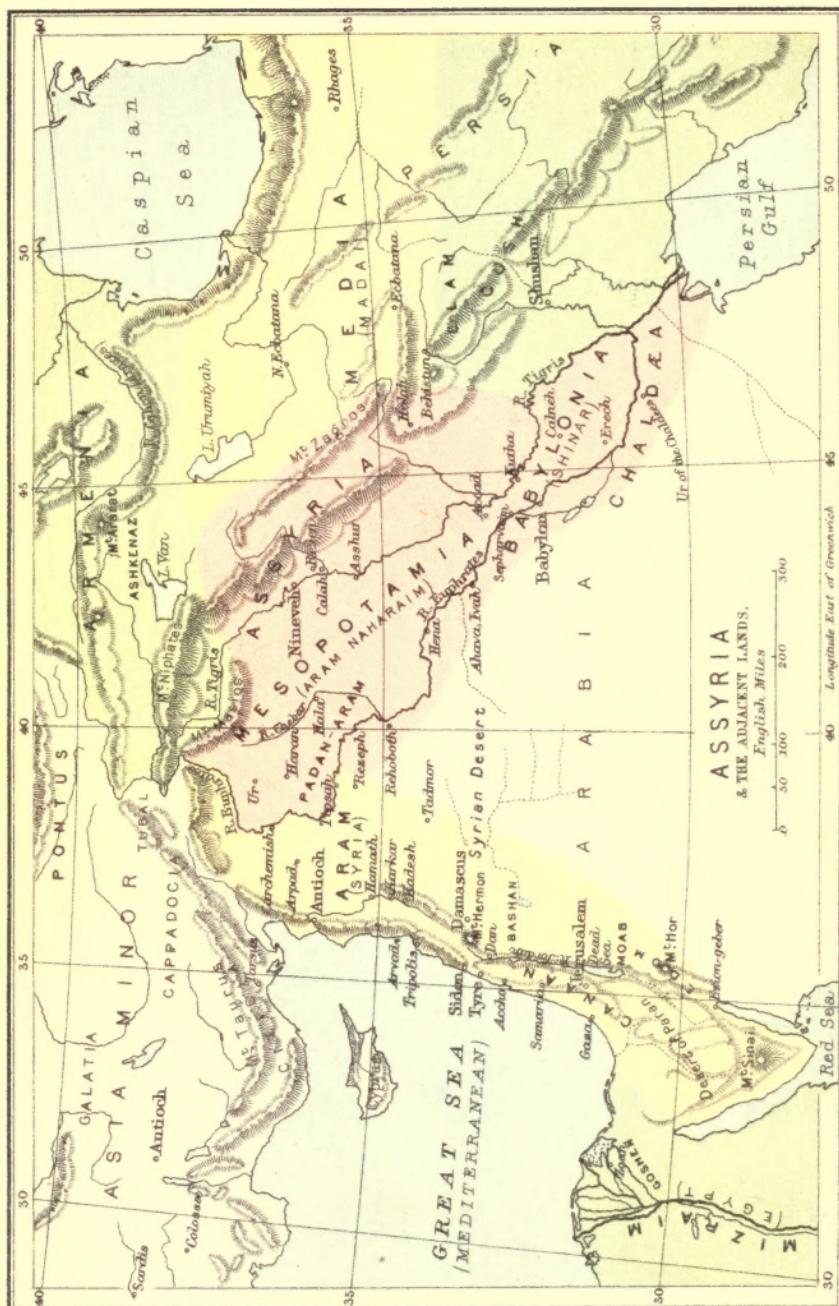
THE TIMES OF CHRIST

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THE
TIMES OF CHRIST

BY

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD, B.D.

ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, BROUGHTY FERRY

NEW EDITION, WITH SOME ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS

EDINBURGH

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TO THE MEMORY OF
ROBERT TENNENT CUNNINGHAM, M.A.
MINISTER AT INCH AND BOWDON
Born, Dundee, July 1852
Died, Manchester, September 1888
TO WHOM THE TASK HERE ATTEMPTED
WAS FIRST ENTRUSTED
THIS HANDBOOK IS DEDICATED
WITH REVERENT AFFECTION

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PREFATORY NOTE

As the first edition of this little book contained an unusually large number of copies, it may not be rash to infer from the fact that it is now sold out, that, in spite of defects of which I have been made painfully aware in reading it, the book possesses qualities that entitle it to the honour of a new edition. I cling, therefore, to the hope that the comparatively great labour that was expended on the first production will not have been altogether in vain as regards those who have honoured, or may yet honour, with their attention what is here printed. My aim has been to provide a handbook of the Times of our Lord at once brief, yet accurate and full, cheap to the pocket, yet satisfying to the mind. Cheap literature can be demoralising only if it is cheap in a spiritual as well as a pecuniary aspect, or if it leaves its readers with no desire to enter the regions of research, towards which it was supposed, or may have been intended, to point the way. The book in its original form was found to be in some ways too difficult for very young students. I have tried accordingly to do as much in the direction of simplification as was possible, without actually re-writing the whole, or removing the indication of sources of information, or of matters for independent inquiry provided in the footnotes and smaller print. Junior students will perhaps do well, for the most part, to pass over the footnotes, to read (apart from footnotes)

the whole of Parts I. and II., including the Appendix commencing at page 42, and to confine themselves in Part III. to chapters 1, 2, and the scriptural part of chapter 3 (*i.e.* pages 112-137). They will find the Appendix on the Feasts of the Jews instructive, but should probably pass by the footnotes, and not go beyond the middle of page 163 with the text. In many matters that may occasion difficulty, they will find the help they need in the Index.

To senior students and clergymen I venture to recommend a serious perusal of the book as a whole, but I would emphasise especially the chapter on the Messianic Hope (p. 112 ff.), on which most pains have been bestowed. If it had been practicable to re-write the chapter, I should of course have noticed the philological discussion regarding the expression "Son of Man," which was just commencing when the first edition appeared. I may perhaps be allowed to refer in this matter to Lecture IV. in my *Eschatology of Jesus* (Melrose, London, 1904), on "The Title 'Son of Man.'" Readers who desire further information on the literature of the subject of Prophecy and Apocalypse, are referred to the Lists appended to the Second Edition of the English translation of Riehm's *Messianic Prophecy* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh).

I have to express my thanks to all who have published reviews or criticisms of the former edition, and shall be grateful to all who may call my attention to matter needing correction in the present edition.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

BROUGHTY FERRY,
February 1905.

PART I

HISTORICAL

CHAPTER I

THE HERODS

The Object of this Handbook is to help the reader of the New Testament to understand, more thoroughly than he can do from a mere perusal of the Gospels, the secular conditions under which the life that is there portrayed was lived. That life, as presented by the evangelists, doubtless speaks in all essential respects sufficiently for itself; nevertheless, everything that tends to make its sacred image more distinct on the canvas of history cannot but be welcome to those whom the central light attracts, and who feel it to be a privilege and a duty to follow up, as near as may be to their sources, the lines of light that in the pages of the Gospels fall from the side on the central Figure. The plan of such a handbook would naturally embrace four parts, which might be distinguished by the names: Geographical, Historical, Contemporary, and Religious. As the first of these parts has already formed the subject of a handbook¹ in this series, it will be sufficient here to occupy ourselves with the remaining three.

The Maccabæan or Asmonæan Dynasty: Between the events narrated in the latest book of history in the Old Testament and

¹ *Palestine, with Maps*, by Rev. Archibald Henderson, D.D., Crieff.

those of the gospel history there is a period of over 400 years. We leave the Jews rejoicing in their recovered temple and law, and in the favour of the Persians. They have no traceable contact with the empires of Greece and Rome, that are fast growing to maturity in the West. When we open the New Testament we find everything changed. The Roman has taken the place of the Persian. Greek is the language of the world, and is almost as familiar to the Jew (even in Palestine) as his own tongue. The Jews are still a subject people, but they are no longer united among themselves, and though they are under stronger masters than the Persians, they are no longer content to be without political independence. It is beyond the scope of our task to tell the story of the centuries¹ that brought this transformation ; but it is necessary to understand, at least, the general drift of events, and it is entirely pertinent to our purpose to ask who Herod was, and how he came to be the "king of Judaea."² The battle of Issus--333 B.C.—made the victorious Alexander the Great master of the East, but the unity of his empire was not preserved ; for, little over twenty years after Alexander's death in 323 B.C., the disputes of his generals (the *Diadochi*, or Successors) resulted in its partition into an Egyptian and a Syrian monarchy, representing respectively the south-west and the north-east part. Once more, as in the two centuries preceding the Exile, the Jews found themselves sandwiched between two rival Powers, but they were no longer under Davidic kings, and the nearness and restless ambition of the north-eastern foreigner made it impossible for them to enjoy the peaceable neutrality which a people deprived of the materials of political ambition must naturally have sought. Yet out of weakness they were made strong. The suppression of their political existence in the Babylonian Captivity had in the past become the

¹ This has been admirably done by another handbook in this series : *From the Exile to the Advent*, by Rev. William Fairweather, M.A., Kirkcaldy.

² Luke i. 5 ; Matt. ii. 1.

occasion of their revival as the “servant of Jehovah,”¹ the chosen people of the covenant ; and now the lesson of that providence received its complement in the issue of the Maccabæan struggle, which proved that the attempt of a foreign people forcibly to abrogate the terms of that covenant could result only in the reappearance on the stage of history of the people of the covenant as an independent political power. The Maccabæan struggle began in 167 B.C.—the year after the Syrian king had built an altar to Jupiter (the “abomination of desolation”²) above the altar of burnt-offering—and may be said to have reached its victorious end twenty-seven years later (140 B.C.), when the office of prince and high priest was, at a great council held in Jerusalem, declared to be hereditary in the family of Simon, brother to the hero of the struggle, Judas Maccabæus. This event laid the foundation of what is known as the Asmonæan³ dynasty—the symbol for about seventy years (135 B.C.–63 B.C.) of a Jewish national independence, which perhaps Rome itself would not have availed to crush had it not been weakened by the spirit of internal dissension.

Antipater the Idumæan Adventurer : This spirit appeared with the decline of the religious fervour which had inspired the Maccabæan struggle, and was emphasised by the formation of the rival sects of the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The former represented the popular party, whose watchword was zeal for the law, and whose resistance of innovations alien to the service of Jehovah expressed itself in the request addressed to the Romans (64 B.C.), that all political power should be taken from the Jewish high-priesthood, and that the latter should be a strictly ecclesiastical office. The Sadducees, on the other hand, represented the aristocratic party, who saw in the political power of the priest-

¹ See *passim* in Isa. xl.–lxvi. commonly described as the work of the “Great Unknown” (Ewald), prophet of the Exile.

² 1 Macc. i. 54; cp. Dan. xi. 31.

³ From the ancestor of the Maccabæans, Asmonæus (Gr. *Asamonaῖος*; cp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 6. 1).

hood the only means of maintaining the military prestige the nation had won under Hyrcanus, and the Greek culture fostered by his successor, Alex. Jannæus. The political importance of this rivalry became apparent during the reign of the latter, whose opposition to the Pharisees had nearly cost him his crown, and shortly after his death in 78 B.C. the schism appeared in the rival claims of his two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Hyrcanus, who was the elder, and whose claims were supported by the Pharisees, would willingly have kept the bargain he had actually made under pressure of siege, to surrender both the civil power and the high-priesthood to his more energetic brother, Aristobulus ; but he had, in his retinue, an Idumæan, named Antipater, whose father had served under Alex. Jannæus, and who found ample opportunity, in the divided state of the Jewish nation, to exhibit his skill and boldness in intrigue. At his instigation Hyrcanus threw himself on the protection of Aretas, king of Arabia, who was bribed by the prospect of recovering certain cities wrested from him by Alex. Jannæus, to send an army against Aristobulus. When the Arabian soldiers appeared before Jerusalem the Pharisees declared for Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus and his party were forced to entrench themselves within the temple.

Appearance of the Romans in Palestine : It was when matters were at this pass that the Jewish people, through their own act, came for the first time into contact with the Romans. Arriving in Damascus in the spring of 63 B.C., with full senatorial authorisation to pursue his conquest in the East, the Roman general Pompey was met by a threefold deputation from Jerusalem. For, along with the rival deputations from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, came one from the Pharisees praying for the abolition of the monarchy as an institution hostile to the peculiar theocratic privileges of the Jewish nation.¹ Irritated by the vacillation of Aristobulus, whose partisans shut the gates of Jerusalem against the Roman soldiers, Pompey reversed the

¹ Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 3. 2.

policy of his general, Scaurus, who had declared against the Pharisees, planted the Roman eagles on the temple-mount after a siege of three months, reinstated Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood with the title of *ethnarch*,¹ instead of king (with a jurisdiction, however, limited to Judaea proper), and carried off Aristobulus and his sons, who appeared in Rome, along with thousands of Jewish captives, in the train of the triumph in which Pompey celebrated his victories in the East.²

The Policy of the Herods : It is obvious that a settlement of this kind offered but meagre satisfaction to the aspirations of the Jews. A Maccabæan prince was indeed at their head, but he was stripped of nearly all the dominions his ancestors had won by blood, and was known to be a tool in the hands of an Idumæan³ adventurer. Since the Maccabæan victories, moreover, the Jewish people were not content to owe their liberties to a Roman commander, as their fathers of the Captivity had owed them to the Persian Cyrus. The utmost that could be conceded to the dominion of the Romans and their servants, Antipater and his descendants (the Herods), was toleration based on a doctrine of religious fatalism similar to that which is said to have influenced Napoleon III. when he surrendered his sword to the Prussian king at the battle of Sedan. The strength and religious character of this Jewish nationalism were recognised, though not understood, by the Romans, and the medium of the recognition was the Herods. The key to the political situation reflected in the Gospels is to be found in the attitude to the Herods, on the one hand, of the Roman Government, on the other, of the Jewish people.

The policy of the Herods was to cultivate at all costs the friendship of the Romans, to whom they owed their semi-royal position in Palestine, while the Romans, on their side, recognised in the military energy and astute fidelity of the Herods the best available fortress of the eastern frontier of their empire, so readily transgressed by Arabs and Parthians. Again, in relation

¹ *Socius atque amicus populi Romani.*

² September 61 B.C.

³ Or *Edomite*, indicating a descendant of Esau ; cp. Gen. xxv. 30, xxxvi. 8.

to the Jewish people, however little these sons of Esau could appreciate the real worth of the blessing of Jacob, they saw clearly the advantage of seeking favour with those who claimed it to the utmost limit of consistency with their own secular ambitions and savage tempers, while the majority of even the most pious Jews were fain to recognise in the religious liberties which they owed to the interest of the Herods with the Romans, the proof of a divine will that they should tolerate a yoke which they could never heartily approve. Their attitude will be understood by those who have remarked the defiant acquiescence with which ardent Roman Catholics or High Churchmen accept favours from a Government which treats them as the ecclesiastical equals of Protestants or Dissenters.

Roman Concessions to the Jews: A record of some of the prominent events of Jewish history in the half-century before the birth of our Lord may give the colour we desiderate in our view of the political situation that is reflected in the Gospels. We may begin with the year 47 B.C., the date of the Magna Charta of Jewish privilege within the last century of their political existence. Cæsar had quelled the party of Pompey, and completed his campaigns in Armenia and Egypt. Turning his attention to Palestine, he passed through the senate a series of measures—afterwards confirmed on graven tablets,¹ the liberal nature of which proves that he bore Antipater no ill-will for having favoured the party of Pompey, but remembered only the service he had rendered him, by appearing with an auxiliary army at a critical juncture during the campaign in Egypt. Most of the territory which Pompey's settlement had assigned to Syria was restored to the Jews; Hyrcanus was confirmed in the title of ethnarch, with the sole power of life and death over Jewish citizens. The temple tax was not to be farmed. Soldiers were not to be stationed in Judæa. It is characteristic of the general situation that these measures, so seemingly and so really favourable to the Jews, were understood by the latter as designed, so

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 1-7.

far as Antipater was concerned, to prepare the way for the downfall of the Maccabæan dynasty; and the correctness of this view was proved when, shortly afterwards, one of Antipater's sons, a brilliant young officer named Herod,¹ overawed the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem by appearing among them with an armed retinue, and, as if in reward for this daring illegality, received about the same time from the Roman pro-consul, Sextus Cæsar, the dominions of Cœle-Syria and Samaria. Julius Cæsar fell by the assassin's dagger 44 B.C., and about the same time Jewish patriotism, in an insurrection under a certain Malichus, disposed of Antipater by poison.

Antipater's Son, Herod the Great: For the next forty years the secular fortunes of the Jews were bound up most intimately with those of Antipater's son Herod, a man of extraordinary energy and astuteness, who could pass with advantage from the one side to the other of the rival factions of Pompey and Cæsar, of the Republicans and Antony, of Antony and Octavian, but could not win the affections of his Jewish subjects, even by building them the most magnificent temple in the world, or overcome by the most skilled literary mendacity² their belief in the solid fact of his Gentile and savage origin. Even if without sufficient reason we rejected the story of the massacre of the infants,³ it would still be impossible to deny that the picture the first evangelist has painted of the politic astuteness, the restless suspiciousness, the baffled rage, and the savage cruelty of the miserable old man, who may murder the innocent, but may not slay the ghosts of his own hatreds and fears, is a representation in the power of simple truth of what must have been the mental condition of a man, the greatness of whose talents was exceeded only by the greatness of his crimes. But we must look beyond

¹ Afterwards Herod the Great, the Herod of Matt. ii. 1; Luke i. 5. The offence for which the Sanhedrin arraigned him was the execution of Hezekiah, the head of a robber band of the north, but a Jew by birth.

² He employed Nicolaus of Damascus to prove his pure Jewish descent (*Antiq.* xiv. 1. 3). ³ Matt. ii. 16 ff.

the Gospels to the pages of Josephus and the Gentile historians of the first century for a vision of the civil and military talents which made it possible for a man of Herod's character to climb to a position in which he could dream of outrivalling the promised "King of the Jews." The spectacle of how this half-savage adventurer more than held his own, on the one hand, against the allied forces of Jewish patriotism and Arabian revolt, and, on the other, against the thousand risks and vexations of a time when the chief seat of power was swaying in the earthquake of revolution, is in its way one of the most striking in history. At one moment (44-42 B.C.) we find him hemmed in between two powerful forces of the Maccabæan Antigonus, and making up for the faithlessness of his Roman ally Fabius, who has taken bribes from the adversary, by the swift energy which defeats the one army in time to offer a victorious front to the other. Next, after the shattering of the Republican cause on the field of Philippi, he is making terms with Antony at Antioch of Syria, not only for himself, but for a deputation representing one hundred noble Jewish families who had appeared in the rival Maccabæan interest, and whom Antony, already in the thraldom of Cleopatra and the Furies, would have put to death. During almost the entire period of the next decade (42-32 B.C.) we see him twisted on the rack of despair between the faithless legates of Antony, who prefer plundering Syrian villages to facing the Parthian foe, and the ruthless demands of the potentate himself, who levies, as the price of his own unfulfilled promises, slices of the Idumæan's territory as pleasure-grounds for Cleopatra. Yet it is during this period that Herod accomplishes the unique enterprise of storming the robbers' cave of Beth-Arbel in Galilee,—hitherto deemed impregnable,—by introducing armed men in cages let down from the ends of beams run out from the top of the precipice ; and at the *end* of it, when Antony has fallen and Cleopatra is deciding that she will die most easily by the bite of an asp, we find him at Rhodes concluding a bargain with Octavian, which not only restores him the

territory he had lost to Cleopatra, but rewards his hospitality to Octavian's troops in Syria with a bodyguard of 400 Gauls.

Peaceful Enterprises of Herod the Great: From the time of this settlement began for Herod, as for many other of the tributary sovereigns of Rome under the peace-loving Augustus, the constructive period of his public work. His task was the twofold one of building up his kingdom upon the goodwill of his Roman masters and Jewish subjects. Aided, perhaps, by his very blindness to the impossibility of the task, he succeeded in it to a degree that must have surprised those who understood better the nature of the obstacles. It seemed comparatively easy to retain the goodwill of the Roman emperor. He had but to preserve peace among Arabs and Jews, and employ the energies of his subjects in building harbours and roads, palaces and temples, statues and theatres, taking care only that to all his works there should adhere, as with the tenacity of a religious faith, the stamp of the imperial supremacy. He built temples of white marble at Paneas,¹ and constructed the magnificent harbour of Cæsarea on the almost harbourless Syrian coast ; but his eyes must have been in some degree opened to the peculiar difficulties of his position when the discovery of a conspiracy, led by ten of the most distinguished Jewish patriots, to take his life at the opening of a theatre he had built within the holy city itself, proved that his acceptableness with his Roman master was singularly apt to be in the inverse ratio of his favour with his own subjects. There was, however, at least one point of coincidence between the lines of his Roman and domestic security. Along the eastern border of his dominions, from the Dead Sea northwards, Herod built fortresses which served the double purpose of protecting the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire, and of defending him, when need was, against his own subjects. If, moreover, he could not win the permanent affection of a people to whom his supremacy was a deep religious offence, he was able by costly benefactions to purchase their temporary good-

¹ The Cæsarea Philippi of Matt. xvi. 13.

will as well as, by force, to secure their toleration. Thus, in a year of famine,¹ he dealt out corn with an unsparing hand to the grateful people at the cost of the royal treasury, and about two years later he commenced the construction of the temple at Jerusalem, whose massiveness and splendour were the wonder of the world,² and at whose dedication the irrepressible king delivered a speech in the carefully-rendered accents of Maccabæan piety.³ It might have been expected that this "holy and beautiful house" would have delighted Jewish patriots at least as much as it did the stranger within their gates, and, indeed, at the sight of it their piety could have thought only of the prophecy in Haggai ii. 3-9, had it not been for the presence of two ghastly skeletons in the chamber of their vision. The one was the spectacle of the "slave of the Asmonæans,"⁴ not only mendaciously declaring himself a free-born Jew, but offering himself, in deed if not in word, by the dedication of the temple on the anniversary of his own accession to the throne, as the Messiah himself. The other was the spectacle of a would-be Messiah paying homage to the Roman emperor; for this pious fulfiller of prophecy had cynically supplemented his consent that only the outer court of the temple should be built by uncircumcised hands, by erecting over the principal entrance images of the Roman eagles. How little the abhorrence with which Jewish patriotism and piety regarded the pretensions of Herod was a thing of mere traditional prejudice, appears clearly enough when we open the record of his crimes. There was a terrible justice in the cynical remark of the Emperor Augustus, in reference to the murderous family disputes of the Idumæan Court, that it was better to be Herod's swine than his son; and the fact that Herod's crimes had the most intimate connection with his efforts to legitimate his claims upon the Jewish throne offers a grimly literal illustration of how a false pretentiousness undoes itself.

The Crimes of Herod the Great: When Herod returned from

¹ 25 B.C.

³ Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. ii. 1 ff.

² Cp. Mark xiii. 1 and pls.

⁴ So Herod is described in the Talmud.

Rome,¹ empowered to demand the abdication of the Jewish throne by the Maccabæan Antigonus, who had seized it with Parthian aid during the unsettlement after Cæsar's death, Antigonus declared his willingness to abdicate in favour of his uncle Hyrcanus, or the latter's grandson Aristobulus, both genuine scions of the Maccabæan stock, but not of the "slave of the Asimonæans"; and though this adroit attempt to break, by a stir of patriotic feeling, the fall natural to his personal unpopularity failed to prevent the accession of Herod, the latter's marriage, four years later, to the beautiful Mariamne, granddaughter of Hyrcanus, proves his sense of the strength of the feeling to which Antigonus had appealed. There seemed a double auspiciousness in the step. He had connected himself in the closest possible way with the Jewish royal family, and there is proof enough that he loved his beautiful princess with the ardour of a savage nature. But he had not foreseen that the step, which legitimated the prospect of the throne to his own descendants, would also serve to bring the unlawfulness of his personal pretensions into clearer relief; and it was not till long after the leading scribes had begun calmly to discuss the question whether two pure vessels were defiled by the uncleanness of the channel that connected them, that he awoke to the discovery that in introducing Maccabæans to his Court he had prepared the most powerful menace he could have conceived to the security of his own position. In the case of a character whose one fixed feature was a selfish ambition, the inevitable sequence of such a dénouement was a course of the darkest crimes. The first victim was the handsome youth Aristobulus, brother to Mariamne, whose "accidental" death while bathing in one of Herod's pleasure-grounds during a royal fête was ostentatiously mourned by the king, who nevertheless had instructed his accomplices to hold the poor youth under water while shouts of laughter distracted attention from his struggles and shrieks (36 B.C.). When, pretending sympathy with Alexandra and

¹ About 42 B.C.

Mariamne, the bereaved mother and sister, Cleopatra summoned Herod to meet her in Laodicæa, the latter entrusted to his brother-in-law Joseph¹ his sealed will containing the proviso, that in the event of a fatal termination to his own expedition Mariamne should be at once put to death, and when Herod returned unscathed from a meeting, the real design of which had been to force from him grants of territory to his Egyptian queen, Joseph paid with his life the price of his incaution in betraying his secret to Mariamne. The floodgates of jealous rage and suspicion had now been fairly opened, and we wade through the remaining course of Herod's life in a stream of crime and blood, which carried with it in terrible succession the murdered forms of Hyrcanus, the aged high priest, Mariamne's grandfather, Mariamne herself, her mother Alexandra, Alexander and Aristobulus, Herod's sons by Mariamne,² Antipater,³ his son by his first wife Doris, and a host of mostly nameless political suspects. It is the Herod who has passed through this mad career of crime, and whose life is being consumed by a fever-thirst which rivers of blood cannot slake, who appears before us in the opening page of the Gospels. And if Josephus, who wrote under the patronage of the Roman emperor, does not mention the massacre of the infants, because he wished, so far as possible, to avoid all reference to the Messianic hopes of his countrymen, we have as little reason to doubt the veracity of the evangelist's narrative as we have to doubt the story Josephus tells of how the dying king, maddened at the thought of the Jews rejoicing over his death, ordered that all the elders of Judæa should be gathered into the circus of Jericho, and put to death the moment he had expired.

¹ Joseph was married to Salome, Herod's sister.

² They were strangled by Herod's orders in Samaria after a trial for treason at Berytus, in which Herod acted in person as prosecutor (6 B.C.).

³ After skilfully compassing, through the jealous fears of Herod, the removal, by the death of Mariamne's sons, of the chief obstruction to his own prospects, Antipater was at length himself convicted of having sent a poisoned goblet to the sick Herod, and met his death just five days before the latter. The narrative of Herod's life and reign are to be found in Books xiv. to xvi. of Josephus's *Antiquities* and Books i. and ii. of the *Wars*.

It is a relief to know from the same authority that this order was not obeyed.

Unpopularity of Herod the Great, His Will: While the profane pretentiousness and savage crimes of Herod the Great fully account for the mingled contempt and horror with which the Jews regarded him, we must not forget that there were other than merely ignoble reasons why they should tolerate a yoke which they could not throw off. The public benefits directly traceable to the rule of Herod were considerable, for among them had to be reckoned not merely a secure eastern frontier and an enormous commercial development with open highways both by land and sea, but also a large measure of that freedom to practise their religion which the Maccabæan struggle had shown that the Jews valued more than life itself. In truth, the striking feature of the situation reflected in the Gospels—so far as Herod and the Jews are concerned—is the large measure of contempt and dislike with which, in spite of all its obvious benefits, the Idumæan dynasty was regarded by the people. Even the Pharisees seem to have reckoned amongst their number those whose ill-will towards Jesus was friendliness as compared with their feeling towards such a man as the tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa.¹ Proofs of this state of feeling were abundant immediately after the death of Herod the Great. His will provided that the principal parts of his territory should be divided among his three sons, Philip, Antipas, and Archelaus. The two former were to hold respectively—with the title of *tetrarch*—the districts to the north-east of Galilee,² and those of Galilee and Peræa,³ while Archelaus was to inherit Judæa, with the title of *king*.

The Sons of Herod—Archelaus: The will was carried out as

¹ Cp. Luke xiii. 31 f. The references, however, of vers. 33–35 make it not unlikely that the motive of the Pharisees (of ver. 31) was the sinister one of inducing Jesus to come all the sooner to Jerusalem, where He should meet an enmity more determined even than that of Antipas.

² Ituræa, etc.; cp. Luke iii. 1.

³ The name of the district to the east of the Jordan (*peras*, Gr. for beyond) and south-east of the Lake of Galilee.

regards Philip and Antipas, but when Archelaus appeared in Rome to ask the confirmation of his kingdom,¹ there appeared along with him a powerful deputation representative of the principal Jewish families, who protested against his reign and betrayed their pent-up hatred of the Idumæan rule by declaring that the generation which "lived under Herod endured more tribulation than all their forefathers since the return from Babylon."² The suit was only partially successful, for though Archelaus did not obtain the title of king, he governed Judæa for ten years as *ethnarch*. Probably he was not a worse man than Antipas, and, as even the parable in Luke xix. 11 ff. suggests, his cruelties followed upon the rebellion of his subjects, but he was peculiarly hateful to the Jews,—firstly, because, like Antipas, he was not merely an Idumæan, but, by his mother Malthace, a Samaritan; secondly, because he had presumed to marry Glaphyra, who had borne seed to her first husband, his dead Maccabæan brother Alexander; and thirdly, because he, an Idumæan slave and a Samaritan dog, wished to be king on Mount Zion. The hatred with which he was regarded seems, however, to have been exceeded in violence by his own vindictiveness, which did not leave him sense enough to conciliate even the Samaritans, for it was upon the representation of a joint legation of Jews and Samaritans that he was ultimately banished by Augustus to Vienna Allobrogum³ on the Rhone, and his kingdom incorporated in the Roman province of Syria (6 A.D.).

Philip: Philip was the most popular of all the Herodian kings. His territory was farthest from Judæa, he was peace-loving and reliable, and was, through his mother Cleopatra, a Jew. It was to his territory that our Lord retired (perhaps for security as well as

¹ The situation described in Luke xix. 11 ff. (esp. vers. 12 and 27) was exactly his. Probably Jesus spoke the parable with the case of Archelaus in mind.

² *Antiq.* xv. 9. 1; cp. Matt. ii. 22, which seems to show that Archelaus was credited with the same vindictive cruelty that characterised the last years of his father.

³ The modern Vienna, about twenty miles south from Lyons.

seclusion) when He began to tell His disciples plainly concerning His death, and it was on the slope of Hermon, that rose behind Cæsarea Philippi,¹ that He was transfigured before Peter and James and John.² Philip regarded himself as a Gentile king reigning over Gentiles, and both Cæsarea Philippi and Bethsaida Julias on the north-east of the Lake of Galilee³ attested his faithfulness to his Roman master. The marriage he contracted with Salome, daughter of Herodias, and granddaughter of his Maccabæan step-brother Aristobulus, was designed to reproduce, so far as possible, the original unity of his own tetrarchy and that of Galilee and Peræa.⁴ He died, after a reign of thirty-seven years, in the twentieth year of Tiberius (33–34 A.D.). As he left no issue, his tetrarchy was at once annexed by Tiberius to the province of Syria, but on Caligula's accession to the imperial throne—37 A.D.—the tetrarchy was gifted to Agrippa, son of Aristobulus and grandson (through Mariamne) of Herod the Great.

Antipas: The member of the Herodian family most conspicuous in the Gospels is Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, whose character is perhaps the most fully depicted and consequently (in spite of its unworthiness) the most interesting of all the secular figures of the New Testament history. In the respects of administrative ability, astuteness, love of display, bold licentiousness, and the alternating cynicisms and dreads of an evil conscience, he seems to have closely resembled his father, and his correspondence with the Emperor Tiberius, who assumed the purple 14 A.D., shows him to have been on not less intimate

¹ Formerly Paneas at the sources of the Jordan. Philip rebuilt the city and named it after the emperor and himself.

² Matt. xvi. 13 ff. and pls.

³ The Bethsaida of Mark vi. 45. Philip built it in honour of Julia, the daughter of the Emperor Augustus.

⁴ For Herodias had married Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee. The marriage was unlawful, for Herodias was wife to Herod (son of Mariamne), Antipas's half-brother, not to Philip of Ituræa, as the evangelists seem to suggest. It is possible, however, that this Herod also bore the name of Philip (cp. Matt xiv. 3 ff.; Mark vi. 17 ff.). See below on Antipas.

terms with the imperial Court than Herod the Great had been. It is probably his intimacy with the emperor that accounts in part for his odiousness to the Roman pro-consuls and governors in Syria. One of them, Vitellius, could not abide that "wily sneak,"¹ and the reference in Luke xxiii. 12 may indicate a similar feeling on the part of Pilate, who had good reason to dread the near presence of anyone who had the ear of the emperor. When our Lord referred to Antipas as "that fox,"² He probably expressed His concurrence in an estimate of the tetrarch's character common among his Jewish subjects ; and the mere fact that the Herodians are spoken of as a party distinct from the Pharisees,³ who were on the whole the popular party, suffices to warrant the inference that the rule of the half-Jewish Antipas⁴ was less than half-acceptable to his Jewish subjects. Antipas was married to the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia, but while on a visit to Rome he became enamoured of his Maccabæan step-niece Herodias,⁵ who was married to his half-brother Herod (her own uncle.) Finding that her ambition lent a willing ear to his nefarious proposals, he returned to Palestine to divorce his Arabian wife, who, however, had been warned of his designs, and had thrown herself upon the protection of her father. If there was policy as well as crime in Antipas's alliance with a Maccabæan, the policy proved as mistaken as the morality. For besides being the direct occasion of the criminal execution of John the Baptist,⁶ the union of Herodias was unmistakably the origin of the two manifest disasters of Antipas's life—(1) the loss of the Arabian friendship, (2) the far more irreparable loss of

¹ Hausrath, *New Testament Times*, ii. 64, cp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 4 f.

² Luke xiii. 32.

³ Cp. Matt. xxii. 16 ; Mark iii. 6, xii. 13.

⁴ Antipas was through his mother Malthace a Samaritan.

⁵ The daughter of his Maccabæan half-brother Aristobulus ; cp. above. For this Herod was the son of Mariamne, and so a full brother to Herodias's father. It was, as above, not Herodias herself, but her daughter Salome who was married to Philip of Ituræa (see p. 25, note 4).

⁶ Matt. xiv. 1 ff.; Mark vi. 14 ff.

Roman favour. The account of the Baptist episode in the received text of Josephus¹ lacks the profound spiritual interest of the story in the Gospels, but, in ascribing the imprisonment of the Baptist to Herod's fear of political tumult, it is doubtless a true supplement to the evangelic narrative ; and the suggestion of Schürer, that Luke xiii. 31 f. is evidence of a crafty scheme on the part of Herod in collusion with some of the Pharisees to induce Jesus to withdraw from his dominions, offers at least a plausible explanation of the peculiar terms in which our Lord met the proposal of the latter. Herod paid for his faithlessness towards the daughter of the Arabian king with the almost total annihilation of his army by the troops of the latter in the year 36 A.D., and the circumstance of his extreme unpopularity with the Roman authorities in Palestine, coupled with that of the death of his imperial patron Tiberius in the following year, deprived him of the means of avenging this humiliation. One of the first acts of Caligula on assuming the purple was to present the tetrarchy of Herod's brother Philip to Agrippa, the brother of Herodias, with the title of king. Yielding to the jealous solicitations of Herodias, Antipas set out for Rome to beg a similar rank for himself. But behind him came Fortunatus, a representative of Agrippa, with a document in which Antipas was in various particulars accused of treason. Summoned to answer this charge before Caligula, Antipas was unable to account satisfactorily for the large quantity of arms found in his treasury. He was deprived of his tetrarchy, which was added to the dominions of his accuser, and banished to Lyons in Gaul, where he died.

Herod Agrippa I. : The Herod who was thus served heir to no less than three tetrarchies² had a chequered career. From being a rash adventurer reduced to an abject dependence by his libertine extravagance, learnt at Rome, and glad to accept the position of

¹ *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2.

² For along with the territories of Philip and Antipas, he obtained that of Lysanias (cp. Luke iii. 1).

a salaried official under his brother-in-law Antipas, he rose to a position in Palestine not unworthy of an inscription recently found,¹ which describes him as the “Great King Agrippa, the pious friend of Cæsar² and the Romans.”³ Unlike his grandfather, Herod the Great, in his peace-loving disposition, he inherited a full share of his energy and love of display, and seems even to have surpassed him in wiliness.⁴ The latter circumstance is all the more remarkable from the fact that for six months before the accession of Caligula, he lay in chains for an incautious utterance against Tiberius. He owed, as we have seen, the first two steps of his elevation to Caligula (38 and 40 A.D.). The summit was reached when the weak emperor Claudius rewarded his fidelity to the house of the Cæsars by adding to his dominions the provinces of Judæa and Samaria, and elevating him to the consular rank. In Agrippa, therefore, was reunited the entire empire of his grandfather; and it must be allowed that, during the brief period of his reign, he succeeded—where Herod the Great had failed—in reconciling the favour of the Romans with the favour of the Jews. He appears in the New Testament only in Acts xii.; but he is there strikingly in character. To execute one Christian apostle and imprison another, simply because he saw that “it pleased the Jews” (ver. 3), is just what we should expect from a monarch whose Judaism would not suffer his own image to appear on the coins current in Jewish towns, while his latitudinarianism found no offence in the images of his daughters erected at Cæsarea. And the scene at the latter place, where the multitude exclaimed that he “spoke with the voice of God and not of man,”⁴ may be regarded as a Gentile parallel to the dramatic piety with which, when celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 41, he wept over

¹ By Waddington at Siá, on the western base of the Hauran (Le Bas et Waddington: *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*, t. iii. n. 2365, quoted in Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, i. 2. 162, note 43).

² The Greek words are: *Philókaisar eusebēs kai philarómäios*.

³ This is the verdict of Schenkel in his *Bibellexikon*.

⁴ Ver. 22; cp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2.

the words of Deut. xvii. 15 : "Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, that is not thy brother," urging that they referred to himself, and was comforted by the cry of the people : " Be not grieved, Agrippa ; thou art our brother."¹ Yet it seems true to say that Agrippa was more sincere in his attachment to his Jewish subjects than to the Roman supremacy ;² and while he had sufficient influence with Caligula to persuade him to abandon his wild project of erecting his statue in the Jewish temple, and sufficient influence with Claudius to secure a willingness on the part of that emperor to grant the control of the Jewish kingdom to Agrippa's personal descendants, there is evidence of his Pharisaic anti-Roman proclivities in the fact that the advisers of Claudius were able to frustrate his intentions and secure the reversion of the Jewish kingdom to the position of a Roman province. The narrative of Agrippa's death (44 A.D.), as given in Acts xii., is reproduced in all its essential features in Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2.

Herod Agrippa II.: Agrippa left three daughters—Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla—and one son, Agrippa, who, though he never entered on the full dominions of his father, yet succeeded during his long public career (*circa* 50-100 A.D.) in recovering, as the reward of his fidelity to the Romans, large portions of his territory with very little of his independence. "He obtained," says the historian Justus of Tiberias, "the power under Claudius, received accessions under Nero, and still more from Vespasian. He died in the third year of Trajan."³ Though his dominions, up to the time of Nero, were entirely in the Lebanon and adjoining district in the extreme north of Palestine, he yet possessed from the moment of his entering the first stage of his public career, by inheriting the dominions of

¹ Deut. xxiii. 7 f. admits to the "congregation of the Lord" a domiciled Edomite of the third congregation. Agrippa was besides a Maccabæan through Mariamne, his grandmother.

² For proofs of this, see Schürer, i. 2. 159.

³ Quoted by Schürer, i. 2. 201, note 34.

his uncle Herod of Chalcis, in the Lebanon valley, the power that had belonged to the latter of controlling the arrangements of the temple, and the episode of his dispute with the priests as to a tower which he had added to the family palace in Jerusalem, with the view of overlooking the sacred ritual of the temple, proves that while he could imitate his father in timeous submission to the Romans, he had little of his skill in conciliating his Jewish subjects. His relations with his sister Bernice, who was with him on the occasion of his meeting with the captive Apostle Paul at Cæsarea,¹ were so scandalous as to be the talk of the Roman world, and to give him a place in the pages of the Roman satirist Juvenal.² And when, in 75 A.D., the ill-famed pair came to Rome, and the prospective emperor Titus had yielded to the meretricious charms of Bernice, and even promised her marriage, feeling ran so high against the Jewish queen that, previous to his accession in 79 A.D., Titus felt compelled to dismiss her from his Court and his notice. In the light of these facts, it may seem strange that the Apostle Paul should have addressed Agrippa as an “expert in all customs and questions that are among the Jews”;³ but we have the clear testimony of Josephus⁴ that Agrippa II. was not wanting in acts of ostentatious conformity to Judaism, and that even the shameless Bernice could play the part of a bigot and a Nazirite. And if we remember how inevitably such acts of outward conformity would win approval with the Jewish religious authorities, we may learn how much palpable proof there must have been for the verdict in which, in the Epistle to the Romans, Paul brings the Jewish world under the same condemnation with the Gentile.⁵ The best supported reading in Acts xxvi. 28 makes Agrippa say to Paul: “With little (*i.e.* even by thy short discourse) thou art persuading me to become a Christian.” The reading deprives the theory that Agrippa spoke in irony of all support of evidence, and that he spoke with the fitful earnestness of a weak man and

¹ Acts xxv. 13 ff.

² *Satires*, vi. 156–160.

³ Acts xxvi. 3.

⁴ *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1–3; *Wars*, ii. 15. 1.

⁵ Rom. ii. 1 ff.

a profligate—alive to the misery of this world through the very excess of his love for its pomp (Acts xxv. 23), as keen in his occasional desire for good as he was weak in his habitual will—is both probable in itself and harmonises with the apostle's answer: “I would to God, that both with little and with much, not thou only, but also all that hear me this day, be as I am, except these bonds” (ver. 29).¹ When we read, in Acts xxv. 13, that Agrippa and Bernice came to Cæsarea to salute the new governor Festus, we are reminded of what was probably the best thing in Agrippa, viz., his fidelity to the Romans, which remained firm even under the stress of the reverses that at first seemed to promise success to the Jewish rebellion. We are reminded also of the state of things towards which the reign of Agrippa II. was the last transition stage. When he died in 100 A.D., leaving no children, there died with him the last remnant of the Jewish State, and Palestine became in complete form, what for the last half-century it had been in effect, a Roman province.

¹ Thus though the “almost” of ver. 28 and the “both almost and altogether” of ver. 29 in the Authorised Version are certainly mistranslations, the meaning we have been accustomed to associate with the words comes pretty near the correct one.

CHAPTER II

THE ROMANS IN PALESTINE

The General Situation: More than once in the Gospels¹ the name Syria is used to describe the country which is the scene of the events recorded. About two centuries before the birth of Christ, Syria was still the name of the largest kingdom of the East. It was the most important part of the empire of Alexander the Great, and in its early days measured its area from the Indus to the Ægean Sea. But if Alexander could conquer the world, he could not govern it ; and within less than a century from the time of his death, when the Romans began to turn their attention to the East, the power of Macedonia and Syria had been greatly lessened by the growth of independent kingdoms in Asia Minor and the formation of powerful leagues among the cities on the seaboard and in the centre of Greece. Of the kingdoms formed in Asia Minor, the most powerful was that of Pontus, bounded on the north by the Black Sea and on the east by Armenia, and ruled successively by a line of kings that bore the name *Mithridates*, and it was the conquest of the last Mithridates and his ally and son-in-law, Tigranes of Armenia, by Pompey, in the year 64 B.C., that made Syria a Roman province, and brought the real conquerors of the ancient world for the first time into contact with the people of the Bible. The Syria of the Gospels, however, is not the Syria of the Macedonian Empire. It included, strictly speaking, only the narrow strip of country extending northwards from Palestine to Cilicia.² For, on the one hand, the Herodian

¹ Matt. iv. 24; Luke ii. 2.

² Gal. i. 21.

kings, while they recognised in the governor of Syria the natural symbol of their subjection to Rome, enjoyed much in function and title with which the Roman representative, even when he appeared in Palestine, did not care to interfere ; and, on the other hand, the vigour of the Parthians and Arabs, operating safely behind the protecting desert, offered a formidable check to the advance of the Romans eastwards and southwards. This independence was rather increased than diminished by the presence during the period covered by our Lord's life and ministry of a Roman governor, resident in Judæa, for that officer was naturally subordinate to the Roman governor of Syria, who might carry to headquarters complaints against maladministration, that might be preferred by the Jewish king or his subjects. The reference in the Third Gospel to the enmity and reconciliation of Herod Antipas and Pilate,¹ and, in general, the entire narrative of the trial of our Lord before the governor of Judæa, offer a striking illustration of the relation of mutual dislike, veiled under punctilious respect, which the political situation in Palestine tended to foster between the representatives of native and imperial rule. Unpopular as the Herodian dynasty was with the mass of the Jewish people, it is certain that it acted as a buffer between them and the rapacity of unprincipled Roman governors ; and the historical proof of this may be found in the fact that when, about the middle of the first century A.D., the Herodian dynasty disappeared, there broke forth those fires of fanatical discontent with the rule of the heathen foreigner, which could be extinguished only through the extermination of the Jewish State. It will be sufficient here to sketch briefly (a) the career of the principal Roman figure of the Gospels—Pontius Pilate ; (b) the course of Jewish history during the last twenty years of the Jewish State, *circa* 50–70 A.D., the latter date, that of the destruction of Jerusalem, being the *terminus ad quem* of historical reference in the Gospels.

(a) **Pontius Pilate** was the fifth of the seven Roman governors

¹ Luke xxiii. 12 ; cp. ver. 7.

to whom were assigned the provinces of Samaria and Judæa during the period between the deposition of Archelaus and the restoration of the provinces to Agrippa I.¹ His period of office falls between the dates 26–36 A.D.; and it is worthy of remark that he is the only governor regarding whom the contemporary historians—Josephus and Philo—give us any considerable details. These details shed light upon a situation which occasions some difficulty to most readers of the Gospels. The Gospel narrative makes it clear (1) that Pilate was extremely unwilling to surrender Jesus to the malice of the Jewish authorities; and (2) that he gave way at last before the insinuation that the release of Jesus would be an act of disloyalty to Cæsar.² Why should a haughty Roman governor, whose rectitude and pity, as well as whose pride,³ were all on the side of saving Jesus, fear the clamour of a Jewish mob, who had patently no case? The facts of Pilate's previous history, as related by Josephus and Philo, show us why. According to Philo, the essential feature of Pilate's character was a haughty and reckless obstinacy. His contempt of the Jews soon passed into hatred of subjects, whose religious scruples he found he had as little power as right to disregard, and in his hatred he became cruel. The Gospels contain a slight hint of Pilate's cruelty, and even of the spirit of insurrection with which its exhibition was naturally connected,⁴ but the hint would probably have been overlooked had it not been for the story Josephus has to tell.⁵ That narrative shows that the attitude of Pilate from the beginning of his governorship had been such as to challenge insurrection. The earlier governors had studiously respected the scruples of the Jews, which found offence in the presence in Jerusalem of the martial standards bearing the image of the emperor. Pilate determined

¹ 6–41 A.D.; for the other six see Schürer, i. 2. 81.

² Cp. John xix. 12 with Luke xxiii. 2.

³ Matt. xxvii. 23 ff.; John xix. 4 f.; *ib.* 22.

⁴ Luke xiii. 1; Mark xv. 7; cp. Luke xxiii. 19.

⁵ *Antig.* xviii. chaps. 3 f.

to inaugurate his rule by marking his contempt for such scruples. Accordingly the troops marched into Jerusalem by night, bearing the offensive standards. The people flocked in crowds to Cæsarea, where the governor usually resided, and for five days besieged him with entreaties to remove from their city, images which their law forbade them even to make.¹ On the sixth day, meeting them in an open place in the city, Pilate suddenly ordered his soldiers to surround them with drawn swords, but the defenceless petitioners bared their necks and declared they would die rather than submit to a breach of their law. Before such an exhibition of steadfastness Pilate's obstinacy gave way to his fears, and he ordered the removal of the offensive images from the capital. On another occasion a protest, similar in spirit, against the conduct of Pilate in appropriating the treasures of the temple to the construction of a valuable aqueduct into the capital, had no such happy ending. Arriving from Cæsarea one day during the progress of the works, Pilate was surrounded by a crowd, with whom, however, by his own orders, based on timely warning, there mingled soldiers dressed as private citizens and armed with clubs, which on a given signal from Pilate they used with merciless and deadly effect. On yet a third occasion Pilate determined, in spite of his experience in Cæsarea, to attempt the introduction into Jerusalem of votive shields bearing the name without the image of the emperor. This attempt, however, was frustrated by the zeal of some of the Jewish nobles, backed by four of the Herods, who obtained an order from the Emperor Tiberius commanding Pilate, on pain of his severe displeasure, to transfer the shields from the palace of Herod in Jerusalem to the temple of Augustus in Cæsarea. Philo, who has preserved the record of this incident in the form of a letter from Agrippa I. to Caligula, remarks that Pilate's aim was "less for the honour of Tiberius than for the annoyance of the Jewish people." He gives us no certain indication of the date of this incident; but if we suppose it to have occurred shortly before

¹ *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1.

the trial of Jesus, we can well understand how the hint of not being Cæsar's friend¹ must have acted upon Pilate with the force of a threat, which he could not lightly disregard. The last reliable notice of Pilate is found in the narrative of Josephus.²

A crowd of Samaritans gathered at the foot of Mount Gerizim in response to the invitation of a fanatic, who promised to show them the sacred utensils of the temple, which a current legend declared to have lain buried there since the time of Moses. Acting on the supposition—wholly improbable in view of the relation of the Samaritans to the rest of the Jewish people—that this gathering was of the nature of a political revolt, Pilate not only let loose his soldiers upon the mob, who had incautiously taken arms, but imprisoned and then put to death the most distinguished of their leaders. This reckless carnage cost him his government; for Vitellius, the legate of Syria, in response to the complaints of the Samaritans, sent Pilate to Rome to answer for his conduct to the emperor. He at the same time nominated one Marcellus as his successor in the procuratorship of Judæa. Beyond mentioning that Pilate arrived in Rome after Tiberius's death, Josephus does not relate the sequel. If we must choose between the two lines of tradition, according to the one of which Pilate committed suicide, while according to the other he was executed by the emperor (whether Caligula or Nero)³ for suffering the condemnation of Jesus, preference must certainly be given to the former, for it is favoured by Eusebius on the authority of both the Greek and Roman historians, and shows less trace of Christian bias.

(b) **The Last Twenty Years of the Jewish State, 50–70 A.D.:** The sayings of Jesus as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels contain some very distinct references to the destruction of Jerusalem, and

¹ John xix. 12.

² *Antiq.* xviii.4. 1 f.

³ Certainly not Tiberius, as according to the New Testament Apocrypha, which also make him die a Christian penitent. On the whole subject of the Pilate legends see Schürer, i. 2. 87 ff., footnote.

the disasters that preceded and presaged it;¹ and it is, perhaps, a fair inference from the parenthetic words, "Let him that readeth understand,"² that the written form of the synoptic tradition was produced while the final struggle was still in progress, *i.e.* somewhere between 66 and 70 A.D. Besides the distinct references to the siege and sacking of Jerusalem, some of the salient features of the discourse of Jesus in the passages cited below are the announcement of unparalleled horrors of war,³ which are mitigated only for the "elect's sake," the emphatic warning against false Christs who will deceive many,⁴ and the identification, so far as the minds of the disciples,⁵ and even the general tenor of the discourse as reported by them, are concerned, of the destruction of Jerusalem with the end of the world. A brief notice of the last twenty years of the Jewish State under its Roman governors—*i.e.* from about the years 44 to 66 A.D., when the struggle commenced—may supply a not unneeded commentary on the peculiarities of this discourse. This period covers the terms of office of no less than seven Roman governors, of whom, says Schürer,⁶ "we might readily suppose that all of them, as if by secret arrangement, so conducted themselves as most certainly to arouse the people to revolt." The governors seem to have been animated not merely by the desire for plunder, which characterised the official mind of a luxurious and degenerate age, and which led—especially in the more distant provinces—to the most reckless abuse of the forms of justice, but also by an ever-growing fury of hatred against the Jewish people, whose courageous obstinacy and unique fidelity to their religious convictions offered a check of unexpected quality and degree to a rapacity that in other parts of the empire found little to oppose it. The common order of events, already familiar to us from the record of Pontius Pilate, and

¹ Matt. xxiv. 2 ff.; Mark xiii.; Luke xvii. 22 ff., xix. 41 ff.

² Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 19.

³ Matt. xxiv. 21 ff.

⁴ *Ib.* vers. 4 f. and 23 ff.; Mark xiii. 6, 21 f.

⁵ Matt. xxiv. 3.

⁶ I. 2. 166.

illustrated during this period in nearly every instance, was wanton insult of Jewish feelings, accompanied with pretended oblivion of Jewish constitutional rights, brutal severity in crushing the insurrection which the insult inevitably provoked, appeal of the people to Rome either through Agrippa or through a deputation of themselves, and a verdict in favour of the Jews, securing in many cases the recall and sometimes also the banishment of the governor.¹ Of the seven governors, the first three may be dismissed with a mere mention. Their names were: **Cuspius Fadus**, who crushed the rebellion threatened by a false prophet named *Theudas*,² who attracted a number of followers by the promise that he would miraculously divide the waters of Jordan; **Tiberius Alexander**, nephew of the philosopher Philo, in whose reign occurred the famine referred to in Acts xi. 27 ff.; and **Ventidius Cumanus**, whose studied partiality for all that was offensive to the Jews incriminated him to such an extent in the eyes of Quadratus, the governor of Syria, as to involve his recall and banishment. The names of the fourth and fifth—**Felix** (52-60 A.D.) and **Porcius Festus** (60-62 A.D.)—have been made familiar to us by chaps. xxiii.-xxv. of the Acts of the Apostles. Felix was the brother of the imperial favourite Pallas, a circumstance which largely accounts for his permission, in the words of Tacitus,³ to “exercise royal functions with all manner of cruelty and lust in the spirit of a slave,” while the fact of his adulterous union with Drusilla, sister of Agrippa and wife of Azizus, king of Emesa, doubly criminal in the eyes of the Jews, from the fact

¹ An obvious modern parallel is the treatment of Armenians by the officials of the Turkish Government. Superior criminality attaches to the modern case in respect both of horribleness in atrocity and of the fact that the atrocities were not merely pardoned, but sanctioned, if not instigated, by the imperial Government of Turkey.

² *Antig.* xx. 5. 1. Schürer thinks that this is the *Theudas* of Acts v. 36 ff., whose adventure by a rather gross anachronism is reported as preceding that of Judas of Galilee (ver. 37), which in reality took place about forty years before it. Those who see no cause to question the strict accuracy of the Acts naturally resort to the supposition of another *Theudas*.

³ *Hist.* v. 9.

that it was entered on without circumcision, offers a suggestive comment upon Acts xxiv. 25. The desperate character of the situation initiated by the excesses of so powerful a despot as Felix is witnessed by the rise during his reign of an extreme sect of Jewish fanatics called *Sicarii* or *Dagger-men*, who pledged themselves to assassinate, so far as possible, all who favoured the dominion of the foreigner over the people of God. The movement at first did not find favour with the more religious of the zealots ; but the unscrupulous excesses of Felix, who with the one hand compounded with the Dagger-men for the assassination of moderate men like Jonathan the high priest, whom both they and he regarded as a political opponent, and with the other signed warrants for the crucifixion of those whose only offence was their religious fanaticism, had the effect of uniting the religious and political zealots in an opposition to the Roman power, with which it became increasingly manifest that the forces normally at the command of the Roman governors could not cope. An indication of the situation in the latter years of Felix's reign is given in Acts xxi. 38. The "four thousand men that were murderers" were none other than the Sicarii; and, according to Josephus, it was the ruthless suppression by Felix of the movement headed by the Egyptian, who had gathered some 30,000 Jews on the Mount of Olives to witness the miraculous fall of the Roman garrison, that made it possible for the Sicarii to force the hand of their more timid countrymen, and fill all Judæa with the madness of revolt.¹ The ascendancy of the Sicarii was a sure prophecy of the terrible struggle that was to follow. Porcius Festus, who succeeded Felix (60-62 A.D.), seems to have been a governor of better intentions, but with no better skill in understanding his Jewish subjects than his predecessor in office. The manner in which the Apostle Paul addresses him² suggests a man with a weak will. He was "willing to do the Jews a pleasure," but he found himself utterly unable to uproot the forces of rebellion of which Felix had

¹ *Wars*, ii. 13. 5; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 6.

² Acts xxv. 10.

sown the seeds. His successors **Albinus** (62-64 A.D.) and **Gessius Florus** (64-66 A.D.), before whose excesses even those of Felix paled, did not even try. Their policy was to foster the rivalries between the moderate and the fanatical sections of the Jewish people, accepting bribes from both parties, yet exercising violence indifferently upon both. Albinus took money from any one who would give it, while his successor Florus, not content with mulcting individuals, plundered whole cities. The limit of Jewish patience was reached and passed when Florus laid sacrilegious hands upon the temple treasury. Great wars have often trifling beginnings. The great death-struggle of the Jews with the Romans began with a practical joke played upon a greedy Roman governor by two Jewish wits, who went about with baskets begging gifts for "the poor and unfortunate Florus." Florus retaliated by giving over a portion of Jerusalem to plunder and the sword, in spite of the tearful protests of the high priests and the intercession of the Jewish queen Bernice herself. It was soon apparent that matters had gone too far to hinder the maddened people from throwing off an allegiance to the masters of the world, to which they had submitted for a hundred years. A few weeks later, in spite of an impressive speech from Agrippa, who might have persuaded the people to maintain their allegiance to the Roman emperor had he not spoken of their receiving Florus back again, the rebel party, under the leadership of Eleasar, son of Ananias the high priest, formally resolved to discontinue the daily sacrifice for the emperor.¹ The fatal step was taken. There began that struggle—the fiercest, if not the greatest, in history—which Josephus has depicted to us with an accuracy of an eye-witness as inimitable as the vainglory of the flattered partisan. The war began in May 66 A.D., and was not completed till April 73 A.D., when the Roman soldiers entered the fortress of

¹ According to Philo (*Leg. ad Caium*, sec. 23), Augustus had decreed that for all time coming two camels and a bullock were to be sacrificed every day at the emperor's expense.

Masada,—the last held by the rebels,—to find that the defenders had slain themselves to a man rather than witness their own defeat. Jerusalem fell finally before the battering-rams of Titus on 8th September 70 A.D., after a resistance so courageous, skilful, and protracted, that it is difficult not to believe that it would have been successful had it not been in the madness of its violence divided against itself. The marvel of the bravery of the Jews is exceeded only by the marvel of their folly. Jesus told them that they did not know the hour of their spiritual visitation.¹ We may add, that neither did they know the hour of their political visitation. While Titus was overrunning the country to the east, west, and south of Jerusalem, the infatuated city was sucking its own blood in the fierce conflicts of the rival factions,—sometimes as many as three,—who were actually besieging one another within the city at the very moment that Titus appeared beside the northern wall. To one stage of this rivalry belongs the incident of the withdrawal of the Christians, who, according to Eusebius,² fled, in obedience to a divine oracle from Jerusalem, to Pella in Peræa, which, as a heathen city included in the league of the Decapolis, remained undisturbed by the war. Schürer is disposed to assign this event with great probability to the close of the year 67, when, after the suppression of the rebellion in Galilee, John of Giscala, the fiercest of the zealot leaders, sought refuge in Jerusalem, and proceeded to gain the ascendancy over the party of order by secretly admitting to the city a band of ruffian Idumæans, who readily abetted the work of plundering the orderly citizens, and in whose appearance the Christians might well recognise “the abomination of desolation.”³

¹ Luke xix. 44.

² *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 5. 2-3.

³ Matt. xxiv. 15 ff.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

WE may introduce here some explanations of matters of Roman policy and custom in Palestine which find a place in the historical references of the New Testament.

1. **The Governor** : From the year 6 A.D. Judæa, and from about the year 44 A.D. all Palestine, was governed by a Roman officer of equestrian rank. Like the larger Syria, of which it was to a certain extent considered a part, Palestine was an imperial province, the appointment of whose governor lay with the emperor. The peculiarity of the governors of the *imperial*, as distinguished from those of the *senatorial* provinces, was the possession of *military* as well as magisterial authority. While the senatorial governors were entrusted only with a small garrison, such as might be necessary to preserve order, the imperial governors were *p̄fecti* (or military commanders), who wore the *paludamentum* (military cloak), and carried a sword. Like the senatorial, the imperial provinces were divided into those ruled by governors who had been *consuls*, and those ruled by governors who had been *pr̄tors*. Palestine belonged to the former and higher rank, and enjoyed, along with some half-dozen other provinces,¹ the exceptional privilege of a governor of equestrian rank—a concession made only to provinces where, owing either, as in Palestine, to the peculiar tenacity with which the inhabitants held to their religious customs, or, as in other provinces, to their peculiarly savage character, it was difficult to maintain order by the usual methods. The Latin title of such a governor was *procurator*, of which the usual Greek equivalent is *epitropos*, although in the New Testament the word generally used is *h̄ēgemōn* (translated *governor*). “Governors and kings” is the phrase Jesus naturally uses (Matt. x. 18, etc.) to summarise authority in a country where government was represented by Pilate and Herod. It is important to realise that, whether we look to the half-native king Herod, or to the Roman governor, or to the Roman emperor, their common master, the government of Palestine was in nearly all aspects a despotism.² The lines of government were not laid down either for Herod or Pilate as they were for an ordinary pro-consul who was simply a magistrate. They were military commanders, not amenable to any civil tribunal, but only to their supreme officer the *imperator* or

¹ The principal of these are mentioned by Tacitus, *Hist.* 1. 11.

² The principal safeguard against the evils of this despotism belonged only to those who possessed the *civitas*, or Roman citizenship (Acts xxv. 12).

emperor. Even the power which the governor of Syria at various times exercised over both was not defined in any exact way. It depended upon the word of the emperor, and was agreeable to the fact that the governor of the larger province had more soldiers under his command. Hence the part played by the soldiers in the trial of Jesus—a trial which displays some of the worst features of that most wretched form of government, a military despotism exercised in time of peace. When Jesus is first brought to Pilate, He is examined by him in the “praetorium.”¹ Praetorium is a military word meaning the *general's tent*, and in the passage cited below evidently means the palace of Herod, where Pilate resided when, at the feast times or on special occasions, he came to Jerusalem. This examination takes place in the absence of the accusers, who will not disqualify themselves for the feast by entering a Gentile house,² and at one stage of it the judge seeks to intimidate the Accused by the reminder that his power over Him is absolute.³ During an undignified wrangle with the accusers, the governor stumbles upon the information that Jesus is a Galilean, and is glad to pass on a troublesome case to the Jewish king Herod under the guise of a compliment. At both trials the soldiers⁴ are humoured with an unrestrained licence to insult and torture the Prisoner. Pilate is quite aware of the innocence of Jesus, yet, after declaring that he has found no fault in Him, he hopes to appease the clamour by the proposal to scourge the Prisoner and let Him go. To the whole situation thus illustrated the state of matters in England under Colonel Kirk and Judge Jeffreys, in the last days of the Stuart dynasty, is probably as exact a parallel as could be produced from modern history.

2. **The Roman Army in Palestine:** In the days of the empire the Roman army was divided into *legions* and *auxiliaries*, the former consisting of those only who possessed the Roman citizenship, the latter of provincials, who in the early days of the empire but rarely⁵ possessed that privilege. As a rule, only auxiliary troops were found in the provinces. The weapons of the auxiliaries were lighter and less harmonious than those of the legions, but the method of arrangement was the same. The infantry were divided into *cohorts* (Gr. *speirai*) varying in strength from 500 to 1000 men, each cohort containing six centuries varying from 50 to 100 in strength, while with similar variations and subdivisions the cavalry were divided into *ala* (Gr. *hilai*). The provincial cohorts (A.V. *bands*) were commonly named from the country or district where the soldiers were raised. Thus, e.g., we hear in the New Testament of a centurion of “the Italian band,”⁶ and a “centurion of the

¹ John xviii. 28, xix. 9.

² John xviii. 28.

³ John xix. 10.

⁴ Luke xxiii. 11, etc.

⁵ Cp. Acts xxii. 28.

⁶ Acts x. 1.

Augustan" (Gr. *Sebastian*) band,¹ the latter being so called from the circumstance that the men composing it were drafted in the region of Samaria, called *Sebastos* (Gr. for Augustus) in honour of the emperor. The commanders of centuries were called *centurions*,² literally commanders of a hundred; while the commanders of cohorts were called *chiliarchoi*,³ literally commanders of a thousand. The Roman governor must have had several cohorts under his command, but the references in the New Testament⁴ seem to show that the garrison in Jerusalem, even at feast times, did not exceed one cohort. In John xviii. 12⁵ there appear at the arrest of Jesus not merely the cohort and its commander, but also a company described as "officers (*hypéretai*) of the Jews." These seem to have been a small company of soldiers—probably native Jews—under a *stratēgos* or captain,⁶ granted to the service of the high priests to preserve order in the temple. A provision of the charter obtained under Julius Cæsar exempted the Jews from compulsory military service, but to be under arms in the service of the temple may well have been considered a habit of piety.

3. **The Publicans**: The name *procurator*, which in its more special sense means a superintendent of finance, reminds us that one of the important functions of the Roman provincial governor was to superintend the ingathering of the taxes. Taxes proper were of two kinds. There was the tax on landed property and the poll-tax—*tributum soli* or *agri* and *tributum capitii*. It is to the latter that the third evangelist alludes in his much-discussed reference⁷ to the registration in the time of Quirinius, for only in relation to it would there be necessary a registration, which should be practically universal, applying to poor as well as rich, and to women as well as men. As Judæa was (after 6 A.D.) an imperial province, its taxes were paid not into the *ærarium*, or treasury of the Senate, but into the *fiscus* or imperial treasury. Judæa therefore, in the strict sense of the word, paid its taxes to Cæsar (Matt. xxii. 17 ff. and pls.), which could only in a certain degree be said of the "senatorial provinces."⁸ The average reader of the Gospels is apt to suppose (*a*) that the whole population of Palestine was as directly as possible under tribute to Rome, and (*b*) that the collectors of the Roman taxes were the so-called "publicans." Both suppositions are inaccurate. As to (*a*), only Judæa and Samaria paid taxes directly into the imperial treasury. Herod Antipas and his brother Philip, who governed

¹ Acts xxvii. 1.

² Matt. viii. 5; Luke vii. 2.

³ In the A.V. usually translated *captains*; cp. John xviii. 12; Acts xxii. 37, etc.

⁴ *Ib.* and Acts xxi. 31, etc.

⁵ Cp. also Acts v. 22 ff.

⁶ Acts iv. 1.

⁷ Luke ii. 1 ff.

⁸ Schürer, i. 2. 65.

the rest of Palestine (except Abilene), probably continued to pay to the emperor the kind of tribute their father had paid even in the days of the Republic to Mark Antony, but the taxes within their dominions were (in theory) neither levied nor controlled by the Roman Government. Hence, if the statement in Luke ii. 1 ff. is literally correct, it must be said that the procedure of taking a census with a view to taxation in Judæa, which was not at that time a Roman province, was exceptional and unconstitutional. If we could suppose that the political condition of Judæa was temporarily, about the year 4 B.C. (probably the real date of our Lord's birth), what it became after 6 A.D., and could make room anywhere within the last years of Herod's reign for the governorship of a Quirinius, the consistency and credibility of the evangelist's representation would be perfect. In particular, the difficulty of Joseph and Mary being required to travel from Galilee to Bethlehem would be removed. The Roman Government had no rights beyond those of general suzerainty in Galilee, but Joseph and Mary belonged by birth to Judæa, and would likely enough be sent thither for registration by the local court of Herod's Government, acting under the dread of the Roman edict.¹ In

¹ It seems almost as if we must either suppose that the third evangelist has fallen into the inaccuracy, perfectly natural to a Gentile writer removed by at least half a century from the time of the events he is narrating, of dating the well-known registration, ordered to be taken by the legate Quirinius in the year 6 or 7 A.D. (when, through the deposition of Archelaus, Judæa had become a Roman province), at the time of the birth of Jesus, while Herod the Great was still alive—i.e. about ten years earlier than its real date, or, apart from all other available evidence, we must suppose: (1) that a registration, with a view to imperial taxation, had taken place in Judæa prior to that of 6 or 7 A.D.; and (2) that it took place while one of the name of Quirinius was governor of Syria. As to (1), it may reasonably be argued that the compact between the imperial Government and Herod the Great might well enough admit (force apart) of such a registration as Luke mentions. Since Pompey captured Jerusalem, the Jews had actually paid taxes to the Romans, and, some twenty years previous to the accession of Augustus, Julius Caesar had laid down the lines of a scheme of universal taxation throughout the empire, from which (so far at least as the reckoning of population was concerned) no part of Palestine could well have been exempt. There would be the less objection to the registration Luke mentions from the fact that, unlike that of ten years later (which provoked the rebellion under Judas of Galilee, *Acts v. 37*), it was carried out in Jewish method, respect being paid to the ancient local organisation of tribes and families. The real difficulty is as to (2): For, though it is now generally agreed (on the basis chiefly of *Tac. Ann. iii. 48*) that P. Sulpicius Quirinius was twice governor of Syria, the commencement of his former term of office cannot be placed so early as the birth of our Lord. It is, however, possible that the registration initiated under his predecessor, Varus, was interrupted by the death of Herod, and only concluded under Quirinius. If so, it would not be extraordinary that Luke should speak of the registration as being carried out under Quirinius. (See Andrews' *Life of Our Lord*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.)

regard to (b), it has to be noted that the publicans had nothing to do with either the property or the poll-tax, but simply with the *customs*, or duties levied on articles exported from the countries. It was the common practice throughout the Roman Empire to let out the right to impose the customs to private contractors (called *publicani*; Gr. *telōnai*), much on the same principle as that on which, till recently, the road-tolls were administered in Great Britain. This method was practised in Judæa, as elsewhere throughout the empire. But while Zacchæus (Luke xix. 1 ff.)—the one instance of a Judæan publican mentioned in the Gospels—doubtless dealt directly with the Roman Government, it was not so with Matthew or Levi (Matt. ix. 9 ff.; cp. x. 3; Luke v. 27 ff.),—the corresponding solitary instance of a publican of Galilee,—who had to do only with the Government of Herod. In neither case is it strictly correct to speak of the publicans as Roman officials. In the one case, as in the other, they were private individuals, who entered into commercial relations with the respective Governments of their districts, acquiring, on their side of the contract, rights in relation to the imposition of customs which it must have been difficult, if not at points impossible, even for Roman precision to define in detail. Herein lay a weakness of the system which, quite apart from the peculiar feeling of the Jews to the Romans and the Herods, must have tended to make the publicans as a class obnoxious to the native communities of Palestine, though doubtless the feeling of exasperation over excessive exactions would, in the case of the Galileans, be heightened by the fact that those living among them who happened to possess the Roman citizenship were altogether exempt from the impositions of the provincial publicans.¹ The phrase “publicans and sinners” (Luke xv. 1; cp. Matt. xxi. 31) is fair evidence not only of the extreme unpopularity of the customs-men as a class, but also of the fact that the associations of their office were such as to make honesty extremely difficult, though not impossible (Matt. xxi. 31; cp. Luke iii. 12 f.), to those who held it. If Luke xix. 8 be understood with Godet to refer rather to Zacchæus’s past than to his future life, we have in his case an illustration of the peculiar difficulties against which honest men in the position of publicans had to contend. Zacchæus, on this view, was throughout a man of honest intentions, but he was (ver. 2) “a chief among the publicans,” and found it difficult to clear his conscience from the instances of extortion of which those who acted under him might be guilty.

4. *Coins and Weights*: As several of the coins mentioned in the Gospels are Roman, a word or two on the subject of the coins of Palestine in Bible times may be here in place. The earliest mention of coined money in the Bible occurs in Ezra viii. 27;

¹ See Schürer, i. 2. 67.

cp. Neh. vii. 72, where the word translated "dram" is the Persian *durič*, the Persian unit of gold currency first issued by Darius Hystaspes (521-485 B.C.), and in use throughout the East from his time till the Macedonian conquest. Properly Jewish coins did not appear till past the middle of the second century B.C., when leave was given to Simon Maccabæus by the Syrian overlord Antiochus VII. to issue money with a native stamp. Simon issued both silver and bronze coins, but the subsequent Maccabæan princes and the Herods issued only the latter. Previous to the introduction of coinage the Jews used bars and rings of gold and silver, the value of which was tested by a system of weights of which the *shekel* (equal to 224 troy grains) was the standard. As the system of weights was the natural norm of the system of coinage, it may here be given translated into terms of our own money. As gold coins were little used in Palestine, the reckoning rests on a silver basis, silver being estimated at our current rate, viz. about five shillings the ounce. Such a reckoning of course gives hardly any idea of the purchasing power of the coins or weights of silver.

			£	s.	d.
Gerah ¹ ($\frac{1}{60}$ of shekel)	=	11.2 grains	=	0	0 1.6
Rebah ($\frac{1}{4}$ ")	=	56 "	=	0	0 8
Bekah ($\frac{1}{2}$ ")	=	112 "	=	0	1 4
Shekel	=	224 "	=	0	2 8
Maneh or Mina (50 shekels)	=	11,239 "	=	6	13 4
Kikkar or Talent (60 manehs)	=	674,392 "	=	400	0 0

The coins mentioned in the Gospels are partly Syrian, partly Roman, and partly Jewish, and in two instances (those of the *talent* and the *pound* Gr. *mnā*; Heb. *maneh*)—Matthew xviii. 23; Luke xix. 13—there are no corresponding coins, but value is described naturally enough, according to the old method, in terms of weight. The following are mentioned in the New Testament:—

A. Syrian: (1) *Stater* (Matt. xxvii. 7, where it is translated "a piece of money.") The same coin is meant by the word *argurion*, "a piece of silver" (A.V.), in Matt. xxvi. 15). The equivalent of the Jewish shekel, though officially tariffed at about sixpence less, the stater was the largest silver coin used in Palestine = a tetradrachm of Antioch, *i.e.* 4 drachms, the drachm being the Syrian silver unit. (2) *Didrachmon* (Matt. xvii. 24, translated "tribute money") = 2 Antioch drachms, that is, half a Jewish shekel, the amount of the temple tax (Ex. xxx. 11 ff.). (3) *Drachmē* (A.V. "a piece of silver," Luke xv. 8) = a drachm of Antioch = a fourth of Jewish shekel.

B. Roman: (1) *Denarius* or *denarion* (Matt. xviii. 28, xxii. 19,

¹ The above table is taken from the Oxford *Helps to the Study of the Bible*, p. 150.

“a penny”). The Roman equivalent of the drachm=about 8d. A denarius was the recognised daily wage of a labourer in field or vineyard (cp. Matt. xx. 1 ff.). The incident of the tribute-money (Matt. xxii. 15 ff.)—specially the phrase *Tὸ nomisma τοῦ kēnsou*, translated “tribute-money”—implies that denarii were the legal tender for the Roman taxes. All the coins above mentioned were silver. Those now to be noted were bronze. (2) *Assarion* (Matt. x. 29, “farthing”) = the Roman *as* = $\frac{1}{10}$ of a denarius, i.e. about $\frac{3}{4}$ d. (3) *Kodrantēs* (Matt. v. 26, “farthing”) = $\frac{1}{4}$ assarion, that is about half a farthing.

C. Jewish: Lepton (Mark xii. 42, “mite”), half a kodrantes; that is, about a quarter of a farthing. The poor widow put two lepta into the temple treasury. Two lepta made a kodrantes, but it would doubtless have been a legal offence to put Roman coins into a vessel of the sanctuary. Hence, if the widow had only her kodrantes, she would apply to the *kollubistai* (“money-changers,” Matt. xxi. 12) before approaching the treasury. It will be observed that the names for the Roman coins are simply Latin words (*denarius, as, quadrans*) put into Greek form. The references of the New Testament fairly illustrate the two facts: (1) that in New Testament times but little use was made of native Jewish coins; and, (2) that of the Græco-Syrian and Roman coins in use, a distinct preference was given on religious and patriotic grounds to the Græco-Syrian. It is worth noting that during the rebellion of 60–70 A.D. the issue of Jewish silver money was revived, and shekels and quarter-shekels were struck in the names of the priest-kings Eleasar and Simon. After the conquest the Emperors Vespasian and Titus retaliated by striking coins bearing in Latin and Greek the legend “*Judæa conquered*” (*Judæa capta, devicta; Ioudaias Healokuias*). In the second revolt under Simon Bar-cochab (132–135 A.D.), the Jews revenged themselves by again striking native coins with the inscription in Hebrew, “*The Deliverance of Israel*” (*Ligullath Israel*).

5. Divisions of Space and Time: Here also the influence of the Romans is seen. We have the *milion* (Matt. v. 41), evidently the *mille passus* or Roman mile, and the *stadios* (or *stadion*, John vi. 19, xi. 18), the eighth of a milion. In the division of time the triple system of the Old Testament has given place to a quadruple system applicable to both night and day. Thus for the night, instead of the *first, middle, and morning watch* (Lam. ii. 19; Judg. vii. 19; Ex. xiv. 24), we have the *first, second, third* (cock-crowing), and *fourth* watches; and for the day, instead of *morning, heat of day, cool of day*, we have the *third, sixth, ninth, and twelfth hours*. In both cases the reckoning is from six to six, each division including three hours. When Jesus said to Peter: “Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny Me thrice”

(Matt. xxvi. 34), the limit of time indicated is 3 A.M.; Mark xiv. 30, however, seems to show that two cock-crowings were sometimes distinguished.¹

¹ See Godet, *in loc.*, Luke xxii. 34. Mark xiii. 35, on the other hand, makes it quite clear that in ordinary speech the "cock-crowing" meant 3 A.M.

PART II

CONTEMPORARY

THE SECULAR LIFE OF THE JEWS IN THE TIME OF OUR LORD



CHAPTER I

THE LANGUAGE OF PALESTINE

The General Situation: As might be expected in the case of a people to whom “were committed the oracles of God” (Rom. iii. 2), the matters most prominent in the history of the Jews, as reflected in the Gospels, are those pertaining to religion, and doubtless he who understands best the religious institutions and tendencies of the Jews in the time of our Lord will be most at home in the historical atmosphere of that transcendent life. Nevertheless it may supply a not unneeded commentary on some portions of the text of the Gospels if, before turning to those supreme matters, we direct attention to some leading aspects of the secular life of the same people and period. We have been dealing hitherto with the foreign influences exerted upon the Jews by the government of the Herods and the Romans. If any doubt is entertained as to the relevance of this subject to the peculiarities of Jewish life, it will disappear before the perception that those peculiarities were to a large extent developed through antagonism to the pressure of foreign culture.

For the situation in regard to the Jews is best estimated by a standard which has reference to the degree in which this “peculiar people”¹ yielded to or else resisted that pressure. In general it may be said that the resistance was most successful in matters of religion, and least successful in matters of secular life. The foreign influences were of course mainly two, the Hellenic, or Greek, and the Roman. The conquests of Alexander the Great had to a large extent made Greek the language of the world, and permeated its life with the influences of a culture which was on its own merits in most aspects supreme,—an ascendancy which, except in so far as it was political, was not really diminished by the appearance of the world-conquering Romans, who, in proportion to their desire for culture, were content to learn the philosophy and even to speak (especially to write) the language of the Greeks. The Jews of Palestine, indeed, were successful in fortifying themselves against the influence of Greek literature proper ; still, it is roughly true to say, that while the Roman influence impressed itself upon their political constitution, the Greek made itself felt upon their social life generally, in particular their language, their trade, and their customs. The scribes and Pharisees, who represented the distinctive learning and piety of the Jews, endeavoured sedulously to counteract an influence of the Gentile which they regarded as defiling, and it cannot be denied that they did so in some directions with considerable success. Yet even the uninstructed reader of the Gospels will have little difficulty in believing—what is the fact—that the scribes and Pharisees were more successful in mutilating the spiritual liberties of the Jewish people than in counteracting the influences of Hellenic culture in connection with matters of first importance.

Latin : When we read in John xix. 20 that the inscription on the cross of Jesus was written in “Hebrew and Greek and Latin,” we might readily suppose that all these languages were generally current in Palestine. But this supposition is hardly

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 9.

correct in reference to Greek, and quite incorrect as regards Latin. Except in the names of a few coins (e.g., *dinar zehabb*,¹ where dinar is the Latin denarius), and in some military terms (e.g., *ligyonoth*, for soldiers = Lat. *legiones*), Latin did not enter into the current speech of Palestine, or indeed of any eastern province, till the last days of the empire. It was used only, in accordance with a precedent set by Julius Cæsar, in the publishing of official decrees, and never apparently without an accompanying translation into Greek and (in Palestine) Aramaic, a dialect closely akin to Hebrew, which was the spoken language of the Jews since the Exile. Thus, as parallels to John xix. 20, may be mentioned from Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2), the decree in favour of the appointment of Hyrcanus II. as Jewish high priest, which Julius Cæsar ordered the Sidonians to have inscribed on a brazen tablet in Latin and Greek, and the legend on the inner wall of the court of the Gentiles in the temple, forbidding further passage of foreigners, which was partly in Latin and partly in Greek (*Wars*, v. 5. 2, vi. 2. 4).

Greek: The case was very different with Greek. It is not possible, indeed, to make much of the fact that the books of the New Testament were written in Greek, since, if we except the First Gospel,² there is no evidence that any of them were written with a special view to being read by Palestinian communities. But there are many considerations which make it clear that Greek must have had a very considerable currency among the Jews of Palestine—a currency perhaps equal to that of English in the present day in the most Celtic portions of Scotland. The country of the Jews was not only surrounded, but—if we look to such instances

¹ Gold denarius.

² A doubtful exception, the evidence that the author wrote for Palestinian Jews being simply an inference from a passage in Papias preserved in Eusebius (H.E. 3. 39). Even if we accept that inference, it tells against the currency of Greek in Palestine, for Papias says that Matthew wrote his book of "Discourses" in the Hebrew (Aramaic) dialect, a statement from which it is not unnatural to infer that our canonical Matthew is in some sense and degree a translation from an Aramaic original.

as *Sebaste* (= Samaria) and *Scythopolis* (= Beth-Shan)—we may almost say interpenetrated, by Hellenistic communities, as, e.g., those belonging to the league of cities known as the Decapolis, with which trade relations would have been seriously embarrassed without some knowledge of the Greek language. It is significant in this connection that the coins minted by the Herods and the Romans bore only Greek inscriptions, a circumstance that is noteworthy in presence of the fact that the emissaries of the Pharisees in Matt. xxii. 15 ff. had evidently no difficulty in answering in detail the question: “Whose is this image and superscription?”

Besides contact with Greek-speaking people who were heathens, there was a contact not less regular and close between the Jews of Palestine and their co-religionists who came up to Jerusalem at feast times, in some cases perhaps from Greece¹ itself, but in every case from countries where Greek was the one language generally understood. We know from the Mishnah,² that permission was given to the Hellenistic communities to use the Holy Scriptures in Greek—a permission which, we may be sure, could have been wrung from Jewish conservatism only by the urgency of the fact that to the mass of the worshippers Hebrew was unintelligible. Even more important is the testimony of the record, that during the war with Titus the decree went forth from the inner circle of rabbinism that no Jew should have his son instructed in Greek, for such a decree clearly implies not merely that permission to use Greek had previously been given to Jews in Greek-speaking countries, but also that leave to study it had been granted even to those who could worship to edification in the vernacular of the Jews. Besides the Hellenists who came on festival occasions to Jerusalem,

¹ John xii. 20 (cp. Acts xvii. 4), where the word translated “Greeks” (*Hellenes*) means Jewish proselytes who were Greeks by birth. On the other hand, *Hellenistai* (sometimes translated *Grecians*, or *Grecian Jews*, Acts xi. 20) means Jews living in Greek-speaking countries and themselves speaking Greek.

² See below, p. 85.

there were those who settled in Palestine, and were permitted to have separate synagogues of their own. Thus in Acts vi. 9 we find in Jerusalem, Libertines,¹ Cyrenians, Alexandrians, Cilicians, Asiatics,² who, it is natural to assume (both from the passage itself and from the fact that there were in Jerusalem as many as 480 synagogues), had at least one synagogue each. Representatives of all these different synagogues, we are told, disputed with Stephen. It cannot be doubted that the language used on both sides was Greek. Add to all this the fact that since the time of the Macedonian conquest Palestine had been accustomed to Greek rulers, whose policy—interrupted by the earlier only to be resumed by the later Maccabæan kings and by the Herods—it had naturally been to encourage the use of the Greek language and customs, and we cannot but feel warranted in saying that Greek enjoyed a currency among the Jews of Palestine at least equal (comparatively speaking) to that of French in modern Russia.³ Finally, Schürer (ii. 1. 43 ff.) supplies interesting evidence from the Mishnah of the *internal* influence of Greek upon the vernacular of the Jews. This influence is seen not merely—where we might naturally expect it—in the names of articles or customs of trade, but even in the description of common objects and abstract ideas, where no peculiar influence of the Greek spirit would naturally be looked for. Thus not only is a tanner called *bursi* (Gr. *burseus*), and Cilician haircloth of the kind Paul used in making tents⁴ *kiliki*, but a robber is called *lestēs*, and the notion of *weak* is expressed by *astnes* (Gr. *asthenēs*).

¹ Jewish freedmen who, or whose ancestors, had been enslaved and afterwards emancipated by the Romans. Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 85) mentions that in the time of Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) there were in Rome 4000 freedmen "infected with that (*i.e.* the Jewish) superstition." See also Appendix A.

² Those belonging to the Roman province of Asia = approx. the western portion of our Asia Minor.

³ It is a significant fact that two in the little company of the apostles—Andrew and Philip—bore purely Greek names. To them naturally the Greeks of John xii. 20 ff. (esp. vers. 21 f.) presented their petition to "see Jesus."

⁴ Acts xviii. 3.

In regard to the bearing of Greek names, even by individuals who enjoyed no lofty position like that of the later Maccabæan high priests,¹ it is only fair to say that the same phenomenon meets us as regards Latin names, *e.g.*, both John, who had the Roman surname *Marcus*, and Joseph Barsabas, who had the Roman surname *Justus*, were Jews of Palestine.²

Aramaic: Notwithstanding all these proofs of the influence of Greek upon the speech of Palestine, there are indications enough even in the Greek-written New Testament that Greek did not, even in “Galilee of the Gentiles” (much less in Judæa), rival the position of the vernacular Aramaic. Not only did the Greek spoken by the cultured classes—the literary form of the New Testament itself being witness—abound in idioms that could be tolerable only to those who had learnt Greek through Hebrew, but even when thus Hebräised it was evidently not well understood—if at all—by children or the common people. Thus the love of graphic detail, which characterises the second evangelist, will not suffer him to represent Jesus as addressing the little daughter of Jairus in Greek;³ and the author of the Acts, who is generally credited with being the most Gentile writer in the New Testament, and to whom, therefore, Aramaic would be a barbarian tongue, cannot fail to remark how readily Paul commanded the attention of the mob at Jerusalem when he addressed them “in the Hebrew (Aramaic) dialect.”⁴ It is hardly possible to doubt that so close a student of Holy Scripture as our Lord must have been able to use with freedom the language (*i.e.* Greek) through which the Scriptures of His day were most widely known.⁵ How otherwise could He, *e.g.*, have conversed with the Syro-Phœnician woman,⁶ or with Pilate; but it is by no means certain,

¹ *E.g.*, Jason and Alexander, with whom (considering their penchant for Greek culture) the adoption of Greek names was natural.

² Acts xii. 12, i. 23.

³ Mark v. 41.

⁴ Acts xxi. 40.

⁵ As is well known, the citations of the Old Testament in the New are usually from the LXX, not from the Hebrew Scriptures.

⁶ Mark vii. 26.

or even probable, that He frequently (much less habitually) spoke in Greek. Even on the borders of the Decapolis, Mark represents Him as speaking in Aramaic,¹ and it is significant that both Matthew and Mark preserve in its original form the utterance of that awful moment when the human Saviour must have spoken in His mother tongue.²

¹ Mark vii. 31 ff. (esp. ver. 25).

² Matt. xxvii. 46; Mark xv. 34; cp. also Mark xiv. 36, where the graphic evangelist preserves a trace (the word *Abba*) of the fact that the prayer in Gethsemane was uttered in Aramaic.

CHAPTER II

THE TRADE AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF PALESTINE

Judæa: The most careless reader of the Gospels will notice, that while the scenery of the Synoptists is laid almost entirely in Galilee, that of John is laid with at least equal exclusiveness in Judæa, in particular in Jerusalem. It is not altogether fanciful, perhaps, to connect this with the fact that John is mainly the narrator of the intimate speech of Jesus, the Synoptists of His miracles and parables. In Judæa the Jew of our Lord's day, especially if he came from Galilee, did not think of fine scenery or of trade. It was enough for him to stand within the gates of Jerusalem, and the court of the House of Jehovah.¹ If he were bent on gain, it was not unlikely that he preferred a "house of merchandise" within the precincts of the temple;² or if, as a Jew or proselyte of foreign residence, he wished to visit the "city of the great king,"³ it did not occur to him to pay his visit except at one of the great feasts, or, when in the city, to wander far from the courts of the temple where the masters in Israel discoursed on the grave matters of the law and of the hope of Israel. Judæa was in fact largely a country of shepherds and ecclesiastics.⁴ In the parable of the Good Samaritan, it is noticeable that even on the road from Jerusalem to the one important trading place in the interior of Judæa, there is but one

¹ Ps. cxxii. 2.

² John ii. 16 and pls.

³ Matt. v. 35.

⁴ Not to speak of robbers, who infested the lonely roads, and found congenial refuge in caves like those still to be seen on the road from Jerusalem to the site of Jericho (Luke x. 30).

layman, and he a foreigner, over against two clergymen.¹ When the Talmud, wishing to emphasise the remunerativeness of tillage in Palestine, says that no *small beasts are bred in Israel*, the remark has to be taken with many grains of salt as regards Judæa. For even in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, in the most genial of the upland districts, there were shepherds abiding with their flocks,² how much more in the bleak mountains and more sombre valleys of the south and south-west. If, not to speak of Lydda³ on the Plain of Sharon, and the old Philistine cities of Ascalon and Gaza⁴ on the seacoast, we except Jericho, the city of palm-trees, which lay on the eastern frontier on the caravan route to Arabia and to Egypt, and at which merchants stopped to supply themselves with stores of the much-prized balsam, Judæa might in some respects fitly be compared to the regions surrounding many of the smaller university towns of Germany. It was a land of scholars and teachers ; people came to it from all parts of the world, but it was of no commercial importance. It is no wonder that a Gospel, which lays its scene so largely in the temple at Jerusalem, should reflect in some degree, in however purified an atmosphere, the spirit of religious mysticism and theological controversy.

Samaria: Of Samaria, which lay immediately to the north of Judæa, we hear naturally but little in the Gospels.⁵ But the picture of the fields near Sychar, "white already to harvest,"⁶ and the allusion in Isaiah xxviii. 3 to the "drunkards of Ephraim," unite with the memory of the ancient northern kingdom, of which the city of Samaria was the capital, and the elder memory of the "parcel of ground that Jacob gave his son Joseph," in suggesting a region of greater fertility than Judæa, whose

¹ Luke x. 31 ff.

² Luke ii. 8.

³ Famous for its purple.

⁴ These districts seem to have yielded a vintage of peculiar excellence (Schürer, ii. 1. 25, on the authority of the anonymous geographical encyclopædia of the fourth century entitled *Totius Orbis Descriptio*).

⁵ John iv. 9 ; Luke ix. 51 ff.

⁶ John iv. 35.

physical strength lay rather in its fortresses of mountain and rock than in the productiveness of its soil. Add to this, that since the time of the Roman occupation this region had in a peculiar degree enjoyed the patronage of the Herods. Gabinius, the legate of Pompey, restored Samaria, which more than half a century before had been razed to the ground by the Maccabæan prince John Hyrcanus, and Herod the Great made it magnificent with a temple to Augustus, part of whose colonnade is still visible. Here also the same Herod planted a military garrison and built himself a residence, and near by, on the seacoast, he constructed the harbour of Cæsarea, which became at once the shipping-market of Palestine. The hatred, moreover, which the Samaritans bore to the Jews kept them from being embroiled in rebellions, which embittered the Romans against Judæa and Galilee, and their abstinence from the rebellion which broke out after the death of Herod was rewarded by their being released, at the expense of the Jewish population, from a fourth part of the taxation.

Galilee: In spite of all these advantages, however, Samaria was an unimportant district as compared with Galilee, which stretched to the north of it towards the highlands of Lebanon, and whose "towns" and "villages" and "country"¹ were the principal scene of the ministry of our Lord. The figure of 3,000,000, at which Josephus estimates the population of Galilee,² is doubtless excessive, but the Synoptic Gospels give us everywhere the impression of a teeming and industrious population.³ In a country which included the great Plain of Esdraelon, whose heavy soil easily supported rich crops of wheat and maize, there must have been many rich men whose ground brought forth plentifully.⁴ On the declivities grew vines, olives, and rape; in the valleys were found the Indian banana and the much-used balsam-shrub. The parables and imagery of our Lord indicate a population hovering on the skirts of vineyards, farmsteads,

¹ Mark vi. 36, 56.

² *Wars*, iii. 3. 2.

³ E.g., Mark i. 35, ii. 4, iii. 8, 31 ff.

⁴ Luke xii. 16 ff.

and large estates of absentee landlords, toiling in vineyards, ploughing, building, grinding at the millstone, storing in barns, stewarding for easy landlords, who, however, at last insist upon a reckoning.¹ "From morning until night life is boisterous and much occupied and gay, and the busy people find no time for meditating on the kingdom of God."²

Besides the strictly agricultural industries, there deserve to be mentioned the linen industry of Scythopolis (Beth-Shan) and the dyeing industry of Magdala on the Lake of Galilee, where indigo is grown even to this day ; but most interesting to the reader of the Gospels is the industry of pickling fish, which gave its name *Tarichea*³ to one of the towns on the southern border of the fish-abounding Lake of Galilee. This fact of itself suggests a lucrative trade. Doubtless the fishermen-disciples of Jesus were "unlearned and ignorant men" from the point of view of the scribes,⁴ and spoke with the guttural accent natural to a mountainous country,⁵ but to speak of them with any emphasis as "poor" men implies an assumption contrary to probability. John seems to have been on terms of some intimacy with the high priest Caiaphas ;⁶ and when, after the incident of the rich young man who went away sorrowful, Peter said,⁷ "Behold *we* have left all and followed Thee," he probably spoke from a consciousness that the sacrifice was in a worldly point of view not inconsiderable.

Social Condition: When in connection with such facts as we have just noted we consider the prominent place given to the responsibilities of wealth in the teaching of Jesus,⁸ we are warranted in the conclusion that the social condition of the

¹ *E.g.*, Matt. xx. 1 ff., vii. 24; Mark ix. 42; Luke ix. 62, xii. 17 f., xiv. 30, xvi. 1 ff.

² Hausrath, ii. 10.

³ Gr. *taricheia*=preserving or embalming. There were places in Egypt called *Hai Taricheiai*, from the number of mummies stored in them.

⁴ Acts iv. 13. ⁵ Mark xiv. 70; Matt. xxvi. 73; Luke xxii. 59.

⁶ John xviii. 16.

⁷ Matt. xix. 27.

⁸ Cp. esp. Luke xvi. 1 ff., 19 ff.

people among whom our Lord exercised His ministry bore much more resemblance to that of England in the present day than to that of modern Palestine under the dominion of the Turk. It will certainly help us to appreciate the intimate bearing of the gospel of the kingdom upon the problems of our modern secular life, to realise that it was proclaimed among a people whose social system in many essential features closely resembled our own. A wealthy established church,¹ keenly alive to its traditional privileges, and watchfully jealous of all extra-canonical popular religious movements ; a class of landed proprietors,² who govern their estates from a distance through factors with ill-defined powers ; a prosperous middle class,³ too intent upon the business of the market and the comfort of their own homes to take the kingdom of God seriously ; a humble class,⁴ consisting probably in the main of the smaller tradesmen and farmers with their servants, who hear the Preacher gladly, and furnish on the whole the best recruits of the new society ; and through all a class of beggars⁵ crushed in the competition of congested markets, or else victims of thriftlessness and disease, whose squalor, lurking in the unnoticed shadow of great houses, is yet, to the eye of thoughtful mercy, conspicuous through its contrast with irresponsible wealth,—these, with all they imply, were features in the life of His own countrymen, as naturally evident to the eye of Jesus as their equivalents are to the Christian Englishman of to-day, who observantly regards the social facts of his own time and people.

¹ Luke xvi. 14; John xi. 47 f.

² Luke xvi. 1 ff., xii. 42 ff.; Matt. xxi. 33 ff., xxv. 14 ff.

³ Matt. xxii. 1 ff.

⁴ Mark xii. 37.

⁵ John xii. 8.

CHAPTER III

THE DAILY LIFE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE

The Houses : There were, of course, differences in the social conditions of then and now, which have to be accounted for by the advances that have been made in all that we include under the word civilisation. It may have been easier for some industrious men to make fortunes in the Galilee and Samaria of the first century than it is for many in the England of to-day, but it was not so easy to keep them. For not only did social prosperity lie under the constant threat of extinction in the volcano of insurrection,¹ but at a time when investments in invisible stock were unknown, and in a country where the plundering of treasure hid in houses or the robbing of merchants on their way to the market, were daily occurrences, even private fortunes were not safe. When our Lord says, “Lay not up treasure on earth, where thieves break [Gr. *dig*] through to steal,”² we are reminded of two interesting customs of the time—that of building houses largely of earth, and that of concealing treasure not merely in fields adjoining houses, but in the houses themselves.³ We should naturally suppose that most houses worth robbing would have stone walls, but even where this was the case the flat roof, accessible from the outside,⁴ was probably just as capable of being “dug out” as that of the house into which the

¹ Luke xiii. 1; Mark. xv. 7, xiii. 2.

² Matt. vi. 19.

³ Matt. xii. 44, xxiv. 43 (where “broken up” is literally “dug through”); Luke xii. 33.

⁴ Matt. xxiv. 17.

man "sick of the palsy" was introduced.¹ Both literally and figuratively, domestic life in the land and time of Jesus was opener than with us.

Meals: The houses were entered from quadrangles with posterns opening into the street, the fare was simple but abundant, for any day a friend or a friend's friend might arrive unexpectedly, turned off from the rare and overcrowded inn.² When a guest or stranger entered a house at meal-time, he was met by a servant or younger member of the family, who untied the latchets of his wooden sandals and washed his feet. After this his hair was dressed and sprinkled with some sweet-smelling unguent. Thus prepared, he passed through a door, that remained hospitably open, into the room,—generally on the ground floor,³—where he was met by the host, who, after saluting him with a kiss and word of welcome,⁴ assigned him a couch at the table, where the meal was served to the guests as they reclined on their left elbows. Most dining-rooms were divided into at least two parts, an upper and a lower. In the upper, which was farther from the door and more luxuriously furnished, the guests of honour were received.⁵ While the meal proceeded, the door remained open, and passers-by might enter the open court from the street, and view the spectacle of the feast or even join in the conversation.⁶

Marriages and Funerals: There is much that is attractive in this picture of open hospitality, but we cannot read such a

¹ Mark ii. 4, where "broken it up" is literally "dug it out."

² Luke ii. 7, xi. 5 ff. *À propos* of the custom of retaining treasure near the person of the owner, it is an interesting fact that it is to this day the custom of the married women of Bethlehem to carry their fortunes in the form of coins and jewellery attached to head-pieces, which they wear even in sleep.

³ The circumstance of the Lord's Supper being in an "upper room" (Luke xxii. 12) was clearly due to the exceptional desire for privacy; cp. John xx. 19, where the "shut doors" are also exceptional.

⁴ Luke vii. 44 ff. Salutations were more elaborate than would be tolerated in our hurried life. In sending out the seventy on the urgent business of the kingdom, Jesus said significantly, "Salute no man by the way" (Luke x. 4).

⁵ Luke xiv. 7 ff.

⁶ Luke v. 27 ff., vii. 37.

passage as Luke xiv. 1-14 without tempering our admiration with the remembrance how readily such practices could lend themselves to purposes of display and sinister intention alien to the spirit of true courtesy and charity. Moreover, the openness that may be congenial to seasons of domestic festivity cannot but strike us in a reverse light when displayed at seasons of sorrow. Witness the scene of the hired minstrels and crowd of self-constituted mourners whom Jesus thrust forth from the house of Jairus.¹ The children in the market-place might well play at weddings, but it was surely to the shame of their parents that they alternated the game of weddings with that of funerals.² The wedding customs seem to have been pervaded by a spirit of peculiar geniality. Virgins with lighted lamps accompanied the bridegroom to the room in his house³ where the wedding-supper was prepared, and feasting was renewed from day to day among the "sons of the bride-chamber" (*i.e.* the friends of the bridegroom), while the bridegroom was yet with them.⁴ To us the pervading note of the social customs reflected in the Gospels is one of elaborateness and leisureliness. The *occasions*⁵ of life, its births, marriages, and funerals, its feasts and its salutations, were not things to be hurried over. That both the ostentatiousness and the tediousness apt to characterise such customs might easily stand in the way of the kingdom is evident from our Lord's words of warning in relation to the scribes and Pharisees, who loved greetings in the markets and the chief places at feasts,⁶ and from the treatment of the man who wished to attend his father's funeral⁷ before joining the circle of the disciples, and of

¹ Matt. ix. 23 ff. and pls.

² Matt. xi. 16 ff. and pls.

³ To suit the purpose of the parable (to represent the Messiah coming to His Church on earth), the wedding in Matt. xxv. 1 ff takes place in the house of the bride (see Meyer, *in loc.*). John ii. 9, however, presupposes the ordinary practice, according to which the bridegroom is the entertainer.

⁴ Matt. ix. 14 ff. and pls.

⁵ Matt. xxiii. 7, xxvi. 48; Luke vii. 45, x. 4.

⁶ Matt. xxiii. 6.

⁷ When it is remembered that any person touching a dead body, or entering a house where the dead lay, was legally "unclean" for seven days (Num. xix. 11-22), and also that the law forbade the high priests and

the other who wished in similar circumstances to bid farewell to his friends.¹

Dress : Something of the same leisurely spirit is suggested by the style of dress, which does not seem to have differed materially from that of the ancient Romans, or from the Eastern costume of the present day. Its principal features were the close-fitting tunic,² and the loose upper garment or cloak,³ which had to be drawn to with a girdle when the wearer wished to walk freely.⁴ The blind man at Jericho threw off his "cloak" that he might come more quickly to Jesus.⁵ The poor man's cloak served frequently the purpose of a blanket, and was forbidden to be detained by a creditor overnight.⁶ On the other hand, the "cloak" was naturally the garment in which a rich man could display his splendour, or a king or emperor his rank. The rich man in the parable (Luke xvi. 19 ff.) was clothed in "purple and fine linen," and the soldiers, after the trial of Jesus, put on Him a "scarlet robe" in mockery of His claim to be a king, for which they afterwards substituted his own *himatia*, or upper garments.⁷

The Native Government of Palestine—the Sanhedrin : If social customs tend to persist in a people, so also do forms of political Nazarites from taking part in the funeral obsequies even of a father or mother (Lev. xxi. 11; Num. vi. 6f.), it is obvious that the words of Jesus in Luke ix. 60 could hardly seem abnormally rigorous even to the man himself (see Godet, *in loc.*).

¹ Luke ix. 59 ff.

² Gr. *chitōn*; Heb. *kethōneth*=the "coat" of Matt. v. 40.

³ Matt. v. 40, Gr. *himation*; Heb. *simlah* or *beqedh*.

⁴ Luke xii. 35. ⁵ Mark x. 50. ⁶ Ex. xxii. 26; Deut. xxiv. 13.

⁷ Matt. xxvii. 28, 31. The word used is *chlamus*, corresponding to the Latin word *paludamentum*, which seems to have been the name given to a short upper garment worn in varying degrees of magnificence by officials, from a common soldier up to the emperor. The garment put on Jesus was probably the common military *sagum* of coarse material, but of the same shape and colour as that worn by a king. Mark and John indicate the colour as *purple* not *scarlet* (Mark xv. 17; John xix. 2), Luke says simply "a gorgeous robe" (xxiii. 11). Purple was certainly the imperial colour, but Rev. xvii. 4 reminds us that *scarlet* was also a colour of magnificence. On the "scarlet robe" of Matt. xxvii. 28, see Meyer, *in loc.*

constitution. The basis of the political constitution of Israel from very early times was formed by the "elders of the city," mentioned in Deuteronomy xix. 12, xxi. 2 ff. (cp. Num. xi. and Ex. xviii. 13 ff.), along with whom, and, at least partly coincident with whom,¹ we hear of "judges" (*shophtim*) and "officers" (*shotrim*). The judges, officers, and elders made in every city, or district surrounding a city, but one council, the two former corresponding exactly to the functionaries similarly designated in Matthew v. 25. The promise of Jesus to the disciples, that they should sit on twelve thrones,² suggests a form of constitution in which the "judge" expresses in his office the summit of power. The fact, nevertheless, that the very name of the supreme Jewish council of New Testament times is Greek,³ serves to confirm the assertion of Schürer,⁴ that there is no evidence of the existence of an organised council of elders as a *legislative* power earlier than the Greek period. It seems certain also that the grouping of the towns of Judæa round Jerusalem as mother-city was but an instance of the Hellenic form of constitution imposed upon Palestine as a whole, and that in the time of our Lord the Council of Jerusalem had no legally valid powers beyond Judæa,—however much the religious unity of the Jewish people, expressed in veneration for the habitation of Zion, might make the transgression of this restriction easy and natural. If Pilate had, strictly speaking, no jurisdiction over Jesus as a Galilean subject,⁵ still less, so far as Roman law was concerned, had the council at Jerusalem. On the other hand, it is clear from the Gospel narrative, that if the "chief priests and elders" had chosen to scourge Jesus and let Him go, neither Pilate nor Herod would have been disposed to interfere. For Roman policy, on the whole, accommodated itself to the utmost limit to the fanatical patriotism exemplified in the assertion of the rabbis that the Council of Seventy, that sat in Jerusalem, were by unbroken descent the same with the

¹ Num. xi. 16, cp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29.

² Luke xxii. 30.

³ *Sunedrion*, which appears in the Mishnah and Talmud as *Sanhedrin*.

⁴ II. 1. 166.

⁵ Luke xxiii. 7.

Council of Seventy granted to Moses.¹ And, without doubt, during the triumphant Maccabæan period the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem exercised throughout Palestine all the powers of an imperial parliament. The Sanhedrin of the Gospels and Acts was but the ecclesiastical remnant of this parliament, but the extent to which its powers were crippled was largely veiled to Jewish pride partly by the Roman tolerance and partly by the fact that, from the point of view of Jewish piety, the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical power did not exist. Even the absence of a legislative power was veiled by the fact that a law-making function seemed superfluous to those who regarded themselves as the administrators of a law of Jehovah that was perfect. Moreover, the *knowledge* of the law, even apart from the doing of it, brought blessedness. He who "knew" the law could never be "accursed."² Supremely blessed were those who sat on Moses' seat and administered it. The constituents of the Sanhedrin were the chief priests, representatives of the Pharisees and scribes, and the elders.³ The predominant influence was that of the chief priests, the perpetual presidency of one of whose number was a natural relic of the royal priesthood of the Maccabæans. The Sanhedrin is indicated in the Gospels by the phrases, "chief priests and Pharisees,"⁴ "chief priests and scribes,"⁵ "chief priests and elders of the people,"⁶ and (fullest of all) "the elders, chief priests, and scribes."⁷ Instances of the real power permitted to be exercised by the Sanhedrin may be seen in general in the fact that it had at its command a small detachment of soldiers,⁸ and in particular in the arrest of Jesus, the arrests and scourging of the Galileans,

¹ Num. xi. 16.

² Matt. xxiii. 2 ff. ; John vii. 49.

³ Presumably only the elders of Judæa and Jerusalem.

⁴ Matt. xxii. 45 ; John vii. 32.

⁵ Mark. x. 33, xi. 18.

⁶ Matt. xxvii. 1, 3.

⁷ Matt. xvi. 21.

⁸ John xviii. 3 ; cp. Matt. xxvii. 65, where, if (as the A.V.) we take *ekhete* ("ye have") as an indicative, Pilate seems haughtily to remind the "chief priests and Pharisees" (ver. 62) that they have a guard of soldiers at their own disposal, and need not trouble him.

Peter and John,¹ and (perhaps the most striking of all) the commission which Saul, the persecutor, obtained from the high priest to bring the Christian heretics of Damascus to trial at Jerusalem. The most memorable instance of the limitation of the power of the Sanhedrin is that of their refusing to execute the death-sentence upon Jesus, a fact which perhaps indicates that capital punishment was the one matter in regard to which the law defining their powers was perfectly explicit.²

¹ Acts v. 40, etc. It is interesting, in this connection, to note the distinction as marked by Paul (2 Cor. xi. 24 f.) between being beaten by the Jews and beaten with rods. The word *rabdidso* (*rabdos*, a rod), which describes the latter, refers to the punishment of the lictors with their *fasces* or *rods* who attended a Roman magistrate. Of this sort was the punishment at Philippi (Acts xvi. 22), which was a Roman colony.

² John xviii. 31; cp. xix. 7. It is strange that similar scruples did not prevent the murder of Stephen. Probably when Pilate said to the accusers of Jesus, "Take ye Him, and judge Him according to your law," there was a covert reminder that, even if they did stretch their powers beyond the legal point, no great risk, so far as the Roman authorities were concerned, would be run. But the priestly party took warning from their fear of the Jewish populace, and would not venture on any illegality.

PART III

RELIGIOUS

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE JEWS IN THE TIME OF OUR LORD



CHAPTER I

THE SADDUCEES AND THE WORSHIP OF THE TEMPLE

The General Scope of Part III.: If a knowledge of the social circumstances and political arrangements of the Jews help us in some degree to understand the Gospels, some acquaintance with their religious ideas and institutions may fairly be considered indispensable. In the one case we move at the circumference of the matter of the Gospels, in the other we touch upon its centre. Two considerations may justify a special emphasis upon this part of our subject. The one, which may be described as *positive*, is the fact that our Lord was a Jew and a patriot, submissive not merely to the authority of the Jewish canonical Scriptures—the Old Testament, but also in a surprising degree to ideas and customs that were extra-canonical.¹ The other,

¹ *E.g.*, His frequenting of the synagogue (Luke iv. 16), His acceptance of current Messianic interpretations of some Old Testament Scriptures, *e.g.*, Ps. cx. (Matt. xxii. 43 ff.), His injunction to the disciples to respect the authority of the scribes and Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 2 f.), His submission to John's baptism (Matt. iii. 15) and to payment of the temple tax (Matt. xvii. 24 ff.), His zeal for the sanctity of the temple precincts (Matt. xxi. 12 ff. and pls., esp. Mark xi. 16).

which may be described as *negative*, is the fact not less obvious, that His career was shaped by opposition to tendencies represented by the religious and ecclesiastical authorities of his countrymen. It is beyond the scope of our purpose to expound the Gospels ; our business here is to illustrate them, as it were, from the side. But we have arrived at the borderland between exposition and illustration, for we can hardly deal with the religious ideas and customs of the Jews without catching some glimpse of the distinctive personality of Him who “fulfilled the law and the prophets.”¹ This is specially the case in relation to the ideal of the Jews expressed in their notion of the Messiah. For this ideal, however obscured by traditional accretions, had no mere traditional origin. It represented the promise of God and the abiding hope of His people. It was this ideal which Jesus at once accepted and reconstituted as the interpreter of His own transcendent personality. The Gospels contain a number of references to the Messianic ideal which do not seem to be in themselves of much importance, as they represent usually only popular misconceptions. Still, some of them—in particular even the very familiar name *Son of man*—presuppose ways of thinking (with corresponding literatures) which cannot be fully explained by a reference to the Old Testament. Nothing is more characteristic of the central figure of the Gospels than His attitude towards the Messianic rôle—His apparent refusal and ultimate acceptance of it. We cannot but expect light from any source that will inform us as to the ideas about the Messiah current in the time of Him who was the Messiah indeed. We may suitably introduce our treatment of this subject with some remarks on the origin and character of the religious institutions connected with doctrine and worship that are prominent within the horizon of the Gospels. In this chapter we treat of the Sadducees and the worship of the temple, for which they were specially responsible.

The Sadducees: It has been aptly said that the Jews went to

¹ Matt. v. 17.

Babylon a nation, and returned a Church. The companies of Ezra and Nehemiah were content to rebuild the temple ; they did not dream of rebuilding the ancient kingdom of Israel. If they spoke of "nation" or "kingdom," it was in the religious sense of the "holy nation" and the "kingdom of priests."¹ In every religious movement that has in it the seed of permanence there come sooner or later to be observable three distinct phases of influence, which may be termed respectively the *priestly*, the *prophetic*, and the *scholastic*. The mould in which the history of the operation of these influences is cast is, speaking generally, as follows : a stage of fusion, a stage of co-operation, and a stage of conflict. In the first stage the three factors are indistinguishable, in the second they are distinguishable but harmonious, in the third their distinction has become antagonism. The history of the Jews, from the Exile to the Advent, fits with tolerable accuracy into this mould. Within the pages of the Old Testament the distinction between priest, prophet, and scholar may be said, so far as the period we are considering is concerned, not to exist. The typical men of the movement which culminated in the Return were Ezekiel,² a prophet who was also a priest, and Ezra,³ a priest who was also a scribe. It was a prophet (Ezekiel) who sketched⁴ the renovated Israel ; but the ideal is priestly, that of a people whose holiness attains expression in the "sons of Zadok," and of a city and land that are but the circumference of the temple. When, under the leaders of the Return, the ideal of Ezekiel passed into a measure of realisation, it was an inevitable consequence that the priesthood attained an extraordinary importance in the reconstructed community. And for long it may be believed that the predominance of the priesthood was as beneficial as it was natural. For the ideal of the priesthood in the minds of men like Ezekiel and Ezra was essentially that of the former prophets and of ancient times generally, viz., that the priesthood was the appointed oracle

¹ Ex. xix. 6.

³ Ezra vii. 11 f.

² Ezek. i. 3.

⁴ Ezek. xl.-xlviii. ; cp. esp. xlvi. 11.

for declaring the law of Jehovah.¹ Important to every Israelite as the sacrificial worship of the temple and the acknowledgment of the dues of the priesthood were declared to be, it was not forgotten that the law of Jehovah was no mere rule of worship, but a scheme of life ; and while it was taught in Deuteronomy, as well as in the more rigid Priestly Code,² that sacrifice and offering had to be rendered at the temple only, the *synagogue* or school of instruction in the law was allowed to arise everywhere in the land. It is not certain how far back we have to look for the first synagogue. There is no trace of it before the Exile, and no mention of it in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, but it is probable that the institution dates from the Return, or even from the Exile, when certainly it had its roots in the circumstances of the captives, who were precluded from worship in the ritual sense, but did not therefore in all cases forget the law of Jehovah. It is least likely to have arisen at a time when

¹ Hosea iv. 6 f. It is important to observe that in the prophets and, in general, the devotional portions of the Old Testament the phrase "law of the Lord" or "the law" (e.g., Ps. xix. 7; Isa. ii. 3) does not mean necessarily *written statute*. It means simply the revelation of the will of Jehovah—a revelation that might come either from the lips of a prophet or a priest. It seems clear, indeed, that the part of the historical record which deals with the period between Josiah's reformation and the time of Ezra is the only portion of the Old Testament where the *law* is used in the restricted sense of the *statute* law of the Pentateuch. It is usually in this restricted sense that the phrase is used in the New Testament, e.g. Matt. v. 17, and notably throughout Paul's arguments against Judaisers in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. For even the New Testament passages, which prove a wider use of the term in the fact that passages from the Psalms and prophets are sometimes quoted as the utterance of "the law" (e.g. Rom. iii. 19; 1 Cor. xiv. 21, etc.), are hardly counter evidence, inasmuch as the origin of this usage is a conception of the Pentateuch which dwarfs the importance of all the other contents of the Old Testament.

² The name given to the final recension of the law from the strict priestly standpoint. The principal note of this recension—most marked in the Book of Leviticus—is the precision with which details of the ritual of worship are defined. Its influence is seen in the writing of the history books, esp. the Books of Chronicles, which can be seen by comparison with the Books of Samuel and Kings to be to a large extent history rewritten from the priestly standpoint.

it could have been reasonably anticipated that it might become a rival to the temple. Its origin is, in fact, a clear necessity of the situation depicted in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The people had entered into a solemn covenant to observe the law.¹ Their existence was staked on fidelity to this covenant. The obligations to the temple and the priesthood were only a part of what this fidelity required. A need was felt for other instructors in the law than the official priesthood, whose duties were too engrossing to be combined with the habits of men of learning. Scholarship in the law was too important to be a mere appendage to the duties of the clergy. But the origin of the "sect of the Sadducees"² is due to something more than natural separation of priest and scholar. Sectarianism connects itself usually with differences, which we are accustomed to describe by the vague yet suggestive word *social*. The power of government in the reconstructed community lay with the priesthood, and so long as their régime satisfied the aspirations of all parties after separation from the "people of the land,"³ there could be no real division in the Jewish communion. But when, during the period of the Græco-Syrian dominion, the Maccabæan victories rewoke ambitions of secular power that had seemed to be dead, the situation was altered. The people, whose united fidelity seemed omnipotent to resist heathen customs when imposed by force, could hardly be impervious to the silent pressure of the Hellenic culture which surrounded them as an atmosphere. The pressure of this foreign influence was felt

¹ Neh. viii.-ix., and esp. x. 28 ff.

² Acts v. 17. The most natural, if not the correct, derivation of this name is from that of the priestly family of Zadok. The Sadducees, or *Zadokites*, were those who stood for the rights of the priesthood, or generally the priestly ritual of the temple; cp. Ezek. xlvi. 11. The opinion which derives the name from *tsaddik* (just, righteous) seems contrary to etymological probability, and has besides no special appropriateness in relation to the position or function of the Sadducees. It is, however, supported by so competent a scholar as Edersheim. Schürer, on the other hand, supports the derivation from Zadok.

³ Neh. x. 30.

naturally most by the ruling or priestly class. It was most resisted by those whose profession was the study of the law. Prophet and priest were no longer in agreement, and at first clearly the prophet went with the pious and the learned in the law, who formed the party afterwards known as the Pharisees. The *Sadducees*, on the other hand, were formed from the priestly families and their adherents. They were the social aristocracy of the nation. Their note was the spirit of secularism, and a total absence of the fanatical idealism characteristic of the men of the law, whose wealth lay chiefly in the popular respect. It is a mistake to regard the differences between Pharisees and Sadducees as mere differences of doctrine. For instance, it has been asserted that the Sadducees rejected the prophetic writings, and maintained the authority of the Pentateuch alone. All that seems to be true is, that they valued the prophetic¹ writings in comparison with the Pentateuch even less than the Pharisees. But they were far from the Samaritan heresy of rejecting these writings. Their attitude arose from their dislike of the idealising of the scribes, which found great scope in dealing with the prophetic writings. But there is no evidence that they formally rejected even the Book of Daniel,² much less all the *Prophets* and *Writings* of the Old Testament. According to Josephus,³ they were distinguished from the Pharisees through their rejection of the doctrine of Providence in favour of a greater emphasis of the freedom of the will ; but the whole passage in which the statement occurs is so manifestly the result of an effort to explain the relations of Jewish parties in terms that would appeal to readers acquainted with the language of the Greek philosophical

¹ It must be remembered that, according to the Hebrew division of the Old Testament into *Torah*, *Nebhiim*, and *Kethubhim* (Law, Prophets, and Writings [Gr. *Hagiographa*]), most of the historical books were included under the second division, *i.e.* they were considered prophetic, and were doubtless in some cases the literary work of prophets (2 Chron. ix. 29).

² Dan. xii. 2, the only passage in the Old Testament which explicitly teaches a resurrection from the dead.

³ *Wars*, ii. 8. 14; *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 9.

schools, that it can be regarded at best as indicating only another point in which the mundane spirit of the Sadducees would naturally assert itself against the popular idealism. On the whole, it is safe to say that the merely doctrinal differences between Pharisees and Sadducees were of small account. Both alike held by the authority of the Old Testament Scriptures and by the supreme authority of the Pentateuch; and while it is true that the Sadducees did not in theory hold the tradition of the fathers to be of equal account, the statement of Josephus,¹ that they were constrained by the necessity of retaining popular favour to conform to the precepts of the Pharisees, corresponds exactly with the situation reflected in the Gospels. All the same, the antagonism between Pharisee and Sadducee was as inevitable and as deep and real as that between Dissenter and Churchman in the present day. It originated in differences that went far into the roots of character, and was maintained on the one side by a sense of social injustice joined to a suspicion of disloyalty to divine ideals, and on the other by resentment of the tyranny of popular opinion.

The exact import of the difference between Pharisee and Sadducee may perhaps be seen most impressively in the fact, that while the Sadducees disappeared with the collapse of the Jewish State in 70 A.D., not only did the continuity of the tendencies represented by the scribes and Pharisees remain unbroken, but their labours and influence, as if no longer impeded by the spirit of secular compromise, seemed to increase.² Sadduceeism, on the other hand, revealed itself as a

¹ *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 4.

² Witness, e.g., the compilations known as the *Mishnah* and *Talmud* (second and fourth centuries A.D. respectively)—the literary expression of an authority prevalent throughout the Jewish, and even (through the proselytes) parts of the Gentile world, so great that some of the Christian fathers, referring to the Jewish patriarch, whose supreme authority was acknowledged throughout the Jewish world, think it necessary to explain that, notwithstanding this great influence, the sceptre had, nevertheless, departed from Judah. If a modern reference may be permitted, those who are anxious to promote a less worldly type of piety than they have found

thing of no distinctive character. So far as it distinguished itself from Phariseeism, its doctrines were mainly negations of the tenets of that party, and its separate existence was a mere parasitic growth of social and political arrangements, long estranged from the piety that nourished itself on the study of law and prophets. Beyond the reference to their negation of the resurrection,¹ there is little in the New Testament directly suggestive of the peculiarities of the Sadducees, still less of the deep line of cleavage between them and the Pharisees. In the Gospels the two sects very commonly appear together in an ill-omened combination of hostility against Jesus—a combination which, as regards its essential character, dated from the ministry of John the Baptist.² It is worth noting, however, that in the closing scenes³ of this tragic hostility, it is the party of the Sadducees rather than that of the Pharisees that is prominent. The Pharisees (including the scribes) and elders of the people are present as consenting parties, members by representation or in full of the Sanhedrin; but the motive associated with a State Church, may be encouraged by the historical precedent of pharisaic Judaism in the belief that the general respect for this type will, so far from being endangered, be rather increased by disestablishment.

¹ Matt. xxii. 23 ff. and pls.

² Matt. xvi. 1 ff. At ver. 6, Jesus warns His disciples to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the Sadducees. In the parallel passage, Mark viii. 15 (cp. Mark xii. 13), we read, for *Sadducees*, "the leaven of Herod"—a fact which seems to indicate, what is otherwise probable, that the supporters of the Herod dynasty adhered in sympathy to the party of the Sadducees, and even in common usage gave their name to the whole party, however much they might copy the practice of the Herods themselves in ostentatiously identifying themselves in matters of merely religious practice with the popular party of the Pharisees.

³ Thus it is with the "chief priests" that Judas Iscariot covenants to betray Jesus (Matt. xxvi. 14), and to them he brings back the price of blood (xxvii. 3). In Gethsemane Judas comes with "a great multitude from the *chief priests*" (*ib.* xxvi. 47). Jesus is led away to "Caiaphas the high priest, 'is accused of the "chief priests and elders" (xxvii. 12). The "chief priests and Pharisees" beg the body of Jesus (*ib.* 62). The soldiers of the watch after the resurrection "showed unto the chief priests all the things that were done" (*ib.* xxviii. 11).

and power of the condemnation of Jesus proceed clearly from the "chief priests,"¹ who, the reader must remember, are the leading Sadducees.

The Worship of the Temple: As the Sadducees were the priestly party, it may be well here to notice briefly some of the usages of the temple-worship that are referred to in the Gospels. The points that call for remark relate chiefly to the priesthood: (1) Their number and organisation; (2) their relation to the Levites; (3) their duties and emoluments. Wherever in the Gospels we come near Jerusalem, we scent the incense of the temple, and are everywhere within sight of unparalleled vastness and magnificence, such as becomes a building, that is not only the one legitimate sanctuary of the Jew, but is believed to be the one dwelling-place on earth of Jehovah Himself. The Jew might suffer many afflictions at the hand of the heathen, but so long as the temple stood his pride in his own nation was impregnable. No more skilful charge could have been devised against our Lord or the martyr Stephen, than that they had spoken slightly of the temple or hinted at its destruction.² Here, probably, lies the explanation of the sudden change of front in the populace of Jerusalem which made the death of Jesus possible. The people who "knew not the law"³ might regard with indifference, or even satisfaction, the discomfiture of the Pharisees, whose "yoke" of ordinances⁴ they felt to be intolerable; but it was a different matter to threaten institutions that were the visible pledge of the nation's greatness and of the Divine favour. Hence, while it is true that the Pharisees were the popular party, it is also true that they were powerless without the aid of the Sadducees, who, however much as aristocrats they might be out of touch with the people, were yet in the minds of the latter identified not only with the ruling power, but above all with the temple.

¹ See note 3, previous page.

² Matt. xxvi. 61; cp. John ii. 19; Acts vi. 14.

⁴ Acts xv. 10.

³ John vii. 49.

Priests, Levites, etc.: Jealously as the ranks of the priesthood were guarded, it was inevitable that their number should greatly exceed what could be required at any one time for the service of the temple. When, before the Exile, at the time of the reformation under Josiah, the rural shrines were destroyed and the practice of worship conformed to the standard in Deuteronomy,¹ the priests who had served at the rural shrines flocked to Jerusalem, where at first they were admitted to the offices of the temple on equal terms with their town brethren, whom they would doubtless outnumber. Soon, however, a natural jealousy, centring in the ruling priestly house of Zadok, arose against the intruders, who came to be distinguished as *Levites*, and were assigned the lower functions of the temple service, such as the slaughter and preparation of the victims. The Levites, however, stood higher in rank than the *singers* and *porters* and *nethinim* (or temple slaves). In the enumeration of the clerical staff in the list of the returned captives in Ezra ii., they occur (ver. 40) next to the priests (ver. 36), and before the singers and porters and nethinim (vers. 41-43). Notwithstanding the fact that the enormously increased power of the priesthood after the Return tended to a levelling-up of all who were officially connected with the temple, so that, in the time of Philo,² even those who swept the floors of the temple were reckoned among the Levites, the distinction between priest and Levite is still familiar in the time of our Lord.³ It proved impossible to restrict the higher priestly functions entirely to the sons of Zadok, for even in the time of the *Chronicles*⁴ they appear alongside of other priestly families, and are distinguished only by the fact of being the eldest descendants from Aaron. But the survival of the distinction, as regards the Levites, points to

¹ 2 Kings xxiii. 8 f. ; cp. Deut. xviii. 6 f.

² Circa 20 B.C.-40 A.D. On the statement of the text, see Schürer ii. 1. 273.

³ Luke x. 31 f. ; John i. 19. For the ground of the difference and the fact of it as established in the Priestly Code, cp. Ezek. xliv. 10-16, and Num. xviii. 1-7.

⁴ 1 Chron. xxiv. 3.

the strength of the social barriers that were erected and maintained by the institutions of the temple. The temple, in fact, was, in the time subsequent to the Exile, the nursery of the Jewish aristocracy. The levelling-up process that took place within the circle of the temple officials was due to the same influence. To be but a door-keeper in the house of the Lord came to be an honour as keenly coveted as in modern times even a remote or sinister connection with royalty. Hence it need not surprise us to learn that as there were courses of priests, each with its own head,¹ and each taking its turn of superintending the stated service of the temple, so also there were courses of Levites, who also had their carefully traced heads.² From the time of the Chronicles to the time of our Lord, the number of the courses of the priests was twenty-four.³ Doubtless the same state of things continued in the case of the Levites. In Luke i., esp. vers. 5 and 8, it is signified to us that the parents of John the Baptist were both of priestly rank. The father was of the "course of Abijah"; and even the Gentile writer Luke knows that it is sufficient, to give an additional suggestion of aristocratic birth, to add that Elisabeth his mother was "of the daughters of Aaron." When Zacharias received the angelic intimation of the birth of a son, he was executing the priest's office in the "order of his course," and had the duty assigned him "by lot" to burn incense in the holy place of the temple (vers. 8 f.). The passage is an interesting illustration of the usages of the temple. For, apart from the reference to the "courses" of the priests, we are reminded of the usage, of which we know otherwise, which assigned to a special officer the charge of superintending the lots, and made it the first business of every member of an officiating course, on the

¹ Ezra viii. 24: *Sārē hakkohānim* ("chief of the priests"), cp. x. 5 and ² Chron. xxxvi. 14; 1 Chron. xxiv. 5: *Sārē kodhesh* ("princes of the sanctuary"); in 1 Chron xv. 12, we have *Sārē abhōth* ("chiefs of the fathers").

² 1 Chron. xxiii. 6-24.

³ Cp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 7-18 with Joseph. *Antiq.* vii. 14. 7 and *Life*, i., where he claims for himself to be not only of priestly birth, but to be "of the first course of the twenty-four."

day when his services were required, to present himself to the officer of the lots that he might have his exact duties assigned him. Each course of priests served for a week, and was subdivided into sections of from five to nine, so that on an average there was one section of a course for each day of the week. Hence the Greek word for a priestly course, *ephēmeria*, means literally the “service of a day.” The section of a course officiating for the day slept in the inner court of the temple. The course itself was exchanged every Sabbath evening before the time of the evening sacrifice. Although it is difficult to take literally the statement of Josephus,¹ that each course numbered 5000 souls, we are, in all likelihood, considerably under the mark when we say that there must always have been at least 1000 persons of priestly or Levitical rank resident in Jerusalem, or the immediate neighbourhood ; or that, on the occasion of the three great festivals of the Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, —when, according to the Mishnah, it was the custom for all the twenty-four courses to officiate,—the number must have been about 24,000. Finally, Luke speaks of the “people praying without at the time of the incense,” and the Mishnah informs us that the people also, on whose behalf it was the principal part of the daily service to offer the “continual burnt-offering,”² were divided into courses, so that it became every man’s duty, according to his course, to be present so many times, representing, along with others, the whole people, taking part by prayer in the offerings, which only the specially consecrated priests could actually lay on the altar. The office in which Zacharias was engaged was probably the offering of the morning incense, which began the daily service, and in particular prepared the way for the burnt-offering. It might also, however, have been the offering of incense, which sanctified the evening sacrifice, and closed as the other had begun the service of the day.

¹ *Contra Ap.* ii. 8. He probably includes the Levites as well as the priests.

² *Num. xxviii. 10*, etc.

The Wealth of the Priests : The magnificence of the temple and the great number and high social rank of the priests imply the association with the temple of enormous wealth. The picture of our Lord driving from the temple the money-changers and vendors of birds and cattle is suggestive of the large contribution made to the income of the priests by the offerings, either regular or optional, of the innumerable worshippers. And if we consider how, according to the standard of Ezekiel and the Priestly Code,¹ the whole² of some of the offerings, and the greater or best portions of others,³ together with the regular tax of the first-fruits,⁴ and the tithes,⁵ fell to the lot of the priests, we can easily see that their resources must have been such as might breed in them the worst form of the mercantile spirit as well as excite the envy of the covetous, in particular of the Pharisees.⁶ In regard to the latter, it is characteristic of the peculiarity of their relation to the Sadducees, that their strictness in fulfilling the law made them the strongest, if also the most unwilling, supporters of these rivals. Every reader of the Pentateuch sees how very considerable is the portion of the legislation that deals with the dues of priests and Levites. The method of the scribes, to take an instance, could not but lead them to find a peculiar merit in the strict fulfilment of the law of the tithes. They carried out this fulfilment with a hurtful minuteness that gave point to the scornful arraignment of Jesus, paying tithe of mint and anise and cummin to the neglect of the weightier matters of judgment, mercy, and faith.⁷ The reputation for piety connected with subscribing to the temple treasury is incidentally illustrated

¹ Ezek. xliv. and Num. xviii., which, with the relevant passages in Leviticus, may fitly be compared with the corresponding sections in Deut. xii.-xxvi., so as to show to how great an extent the Priestly Code marks an advance, as regards the position of the priests, upon the pre-Exilian standard of Josiah.

² *E.g.* the sin-, trespass-, and meat-offerings, Ezek. xliv. 28-30.

³ *E.g.* the thank-offerings, Lev. vii. 30-34, x. 14 f.

⁴ Including the *Bikkurim* or chief sorts, and the *Terumah* or all sorts.

⁵ Num. xviii. 21 f.

⁶ John ii. 16; Luke xvi. 14.

⁷ Matt. xxiii. 23.

in the story of the widow who cast in two mites.¹ The treasure stored in the temple, consisting of the sacred vessels, the priests' clothing, the offerings in produce and money, etc., was so great that special officers² had to be appointed over the treasury. These officers had, *e.g.*, to take charge of gifts in kind dedicated to the temple, until the money for their ransom should be paid; and the reputation for piety connected with liberality to the temple was, in our Lord's time, so keenly coveted as to tempt many to the neglect of their duty to parents.³ As that money fell in great measure to the lot of the priests, and as, in the case just cited, our Lord is attacking the "scribes and Pharisees which were at Jerusalem," we have here a special instance of the way in which Pharisaic punctiliousness might serve the interest of the rival Sadducees. Similarly it was the duty of the *Gazophulakes* to collect the half-shekel,⁴ or tax levied upon the male heads of Israel for the upkeep of the temple, which the officer at Capernaum asked of Jesus. In Nehemiah's time the tax was one-third of a shekel. As there is no trace of this tax in the history previous to the Exile, and as it was apparently the custom up to that time for the kings to provide the public sacrifices at their own expense,⁵ we may perhaps conclude that the amount at first was as Nehemiah x. 33 represents, but that it was soon after changed in permanence to the amount fixed in Exodus xxx. 11 ff., which we find prevailing in the time of our Lord. The *half-shekel* tax differed from the *tithes* in being distinctively a tax for the temple and not for the priests.

¹ Luke xxi. 1 ff. and pls.

² Gr. *Gazophulakes*; Heb. *Gizbārim*. See Neh. xii. 44.

³ Matt. xv. 1-9; Mark vii. 9-13.

⁴ Tὸ διδραχμον, Matt. xvii. 24; Ex. xxx. 11-16; cp. with Neh. x. 32.

⁵ Cp. Ezek. xlvi. 17 ff.

CHAPTER II

THE SCRIBES AND PHARISEES AND THE SYNAGOGUE

Historical Origin: The name *Pharisees* (Heb. *Perushim*) is derived from a Hebrew word signifying to *separate*. The time when the name came into use in a sectarian sense cannot be accurately fixed, but it is certain that it marks a tendency which was characteristic of the community that was constituted under the leaders of the Return. They were a people devoted to *separateness* from all the surrounding heathen, and the instrument of this separation was the law associated with the name of Moses, and now codified to a standard of new strictness and precision by their priestly leaders. A people whose existence was thus sectarian readily produced sects within itself, whose distinctiveness represented different degrees of fidelity to the bond ideally imposed upon all. Long before there is any trace of the name *Pharisee*, there were those in the priestly community whose piety and patriotism well entitled them to the honourable name *Chasidhim* (Gr. *Assidaioi*), or *the pious*, which was given to the leaders of the glorious Maccabæan revolution, and in general to those who were forward to resist heathen innovation. The *Perushim*, or *Pharisees*, are the real if degenerate descendants of the *Chasidhim*, and as such they are, with all their faults, evidently recognised by our Lord, when He says that they sit on Moses' seat.¹ If we are to fix a date for their appearance, the most accurate we can mention is perhaps that of the reign of the Maccabæan John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.), who, as we saw in

¹ Matt. xxiii. 2.

Part I., was the first of the new dynasty of priest-kings to show distinct favour to the Hellenising tendency fostered by the aristocratic Zadokites, and so practically, as the event proved, turn the back of the governing party upon those who, however great their services in the past, and however just their authority with the people, must often in the sphere of politics have seemed impracticable fanatics. It is no infrequent testimony of history, that those who in time of war are the saviours of their country become in time of peace clogs in the wheel of secular civilisation. The story, *e.g.*, of the Puritans of England and the Covenanters of Scotland abundantly illustrates the difference in value to the State of the ironside warrior, who will lay down his own life for conscience' sake, and the orthodox theologian, who is ready to sacrifice the lives of others for the sake of a doctrinal distinction which is to the ordinary mind trivial or unintelligible. It is the difference, as regards repute, between the distinction spontaneously accorded to patriotic heroes, and the unwilling yet real respect shown to men of worthy traditions, whose studiousness is too gravely self-important to be amiable, but who have yet earned the right to be considered authorities on those unworldly matters, which claim the respect even of persons of secular spirit. This may serve as a general explanation of the threefold phenomenon which in this connection meets us in the Gospels : (1) the influence which the Pharisees evidently exercise with the people ; (2) the restiveness of the people under that influence ; (3) the scorn of Jesus for the Pharisaic régime. It will be useful to remark more particularly on these points.

The Learning of the Scribes: It is no accident that while Pharisees and Sadducees sometimes appear together in the Gospels, the association of scribes and Pharisees¹ is almost

¹ The passages in the New Testament which speak of scribes who were of the Pharisees (Mark. ii. 16; Luke v. 30; Acts xxiii. 9) imply the existence of some who adhered to the Sadducees who, as they professed tenacious adherence to the Pentateuch, could not but reckon among their number some professional students of the law.

invariable. The two were practically identical. No doubt there were sometimes in the subsequent centuries, as there were frequently in the century of the Return, men who, like Ezra, were scribes and also priests. But such cases were, on the whole, exceptional. The scribe who meets us in the Gospels is simply the specialised Pharisee, one, *i.e.*, who was devoted not simply to the practice of the law, but to the study of the sacred writings—in particular the Pentateuch—and what had come to be thought equally important, the writings of the commentators thereon. How early the process of commenting began we cannot precisely determine, as the earliest collection of Jewish commentaries—the *Mishnah*¹—which we possess, however justly it may be thought to witness types of Jewish theological and critical opinion prevalent in the time of our Lord, does not, as regards its own publication, carry us further back than the second century A.D. ; and the more familiar *Talmud*² is in its earliest portion about two centuries later. The name *grammateus*, or writer (Heb. *sophēr*), suggests that the scribes were originally copyists—usually, doubtless, priests³—who employed themselves in writing out copies of the law, the demand for which, arising out of the multiplication of synagogues, must have been great. It is not difficult to imagine the process whereby the mere *writer* or *scribe* of Ezra's century might become the “lawyer,” or “person skilled in the law,”⁴ with whom he is identified in the Gospels.

¹ The name means literally, “repetition” (Heb. *shānāh*, to repeat). It contains a reminiscence of the painful care of the method of the scribes in instructing their pupils.

² The word *talmudh* means *teaching* or *doctrine*. There is a *Palestinian* Talmud and a *Babylonian*, belonging respectively to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. The relation of the Talmud to the Mishnah offers an instructive instance of the laborious method of a literature devoted, like that of the Jews, to but one subject. It is a method of building by alternating steps of text and commentary: as is the Mishnah to the text of the Law, so is the Talmud to the Mishnah. Text and commentary of the Talmud are distinguished as *Mishnah* and *Gemarah*.

³ The mediæval monk copying MSS. of the New Testament offers a parallel nearer our own time.

⁴ *Nomikos*, *nomodidaskalos*, so most frequently in the Third Gospel (Luke

The lawyer is the specialised scribe, and it is the specialised type that survives. There is no likelihood that the name scribe was given in New Testament times to anyone who was simply a clerk. The scribes doubtless lacked the authority of original intellectual and moral genius,¹ but they had the authority of careful scholars. They "sat," moreover, "in Moses' seat," and in some of them, at least, their studiousness ran parallel with a temper that was "not far from the kingdom of God."² Even apart from the facts yet to be noted regarding the *synagogue*, it is evident that the influence of such a class of men with their own countrymen must have been very great. It was an influence as natural as, and in character closely resembling, that of a Roman Catholic priest over his parishioners, or of a Presbyterian clergyman of past days in the Highlands of Scotland. It was the combined result of respectable character, solid learning, and an awe, partly original, partly transmitted as a second nature by the methods of traditional instruction, which the ignorant and unlearned are apt to carry over from their feeling regarding the great Unseen that they may invest with it the persons of those to whom, as they imagine, the door of entrance to this sanctuary stands somehow open.

The Yoke of the Scribes and Pharisees:³ As the Pharisees were the recognised interpreters of the law even in relation to those matters of worship which were superintended by the representatives of the rival sect, it is easy to see that the Pharisaism and the Judaism which meet us everywhere in the Acts and the Epistles as the most formidable opponents of the "way"⁴ of Jesus are one and the same thing. He who would comprehend the New Testament must take his stand with Jesus face to face with the Pharisees, and it is not too much to say that the marks of the same antagonism

x. 25, xi. 45, 52, etc.). The latter word is peculiar to Luke. It occurs in Luke v. 17; Acts v. 34.

¹ Matt. vii. 29.

² Mark xii. 28-34.

³ Acts xv. 5 and 10; Matt. xi. 29f. In the latter passage there can hardly be a doubt that Jesus means to contrast His "yoke" with that of the Pharisees.

⁴ Acts ix. 2.

have in all ages cut deep into the heart of Christian theology, and of the life, individual and collective, of Christians. It is the antithesis between law and gospel. The strongest proof, perhaps, of the power of the Pharisees lies in the fact that their yoke presses inevitably even upon those who in all essential respects are freest from their influence. The New Testament writers must, of all men, have been able to read the Old Testament with their own eyes, and yet in the very act in which they exhibit to us Jesus as the Fulfiller of law and prophets, they reveal, especially in their mode of citing and interpreting Old Testament texts, how largely even for them the Old Testament has, as it were, been captured by the method of the scribes.¹ It is no light proof of the supernatural power of the gospel, that the early Christians could bear that yoke and still be free with the liberty of the Spirit of God.² In regard to the general situation, two points that seem in contradiction to each other call for remark. On the one hand, it is patent that the Pharisees attached an extraordinary importance to the law, regarding the entire Scriptures and the wisdom of life therein contained to be directed to the fulfilment of even its minutest prescriptions. On the other hand, they appear as a rival sect to the Sadducees, who yet notoriously, in some respects, attached an even greater importance to the Books of Moses. The contradiction is explained by a curious and wholesome inconsistency on the part of the Pharisees. While their whole teaching was vitiated by the literalistic predominance given to the law, the fact that they gradually, as they conceived in the name of the law, extended an authority equal to that of the Books of Moses to

¹ Instances of what is meant cannot be cited here in detail, but those who are interested in the subject may profitably consider such examples as—Matthew's citations of the prophets, i. 23, ii. 6, 15, and *passim*; the exegetical basis of the arguments in the Epistle to the Hebrews, especially the arguments in chaps. i. v. and vii.; St. Paul's entire circle of references to the "law," in particular the absence of all hint (so far as his language is concerned) that he distinguished between the Ten Commandments and the ceremonial law; see also his argument about law and promise, Gal. iii. 15ff

² 2 Cor. iii. 18.

the other writings that make up the canon of the Old Testament, involved them in a liberalism, in regard to the more ideal and other-world doctrines of religion, which exposed them to the criticism of the prosaic Sadducees, and which they themselves related to the practice of the law only in the most external way.¹ There was, in fact, in the mind of the Pharisees, an almost total separation between the law and common intelligence. The object of life was to obey the law, not to understand it. The horizon of great hopes and ideas was the luxury of the pious, who knew the law and had commission to lead others along its tangled paths. The result of adherence to this point of view is patent to every reader of the Gospels, for it has been portrayed to us in colours of unfading distinctness in many words of our Lord. Shut off from the light and liberty of the Divine Spirit, and even from the reflex of the Divine mind in human intelligence, the problem of conduct appeared as an endless labyrinth of puerile rules, and antidotal evasions of rules, in which the blind led the blind.² For the conscientious man who persisted in treading this labyrinth, there was no escape from the torment of endless difficulty. Only the extraordinary grace of the gospel (witness the case of Saul of Tarsus) could lift him from the ditch of moral despair into which sooner or later he stumbled. If the science or art of casuistry did not begin with the Jewish scribes, we need have little hesitation in saying that with them it attained completeness.³ To them and the closed books of their literature it

¹ A typical instance of what is meant is offered in the passage, Matt. xxii. 23ff. and pls. On the authority mainly of Dan. xii. 2, the Pharisees believed in a resurrection, at least for Israelites. To the question propounded by the Sadducees they had been accustomed to answer, that in the other life the woman was restored to her first husband, *i.e.* they could not conceive another life in which the law of Moses would not have the minutest applicability and validity. Against such antagonists the Sadducees had clearly a strong case.

² Matt. xv. 14.

³ A pagan parallel to the casuistry of the scribes may be found in that of the Athenian sophists, with whom Socrates makes short work in the *Dialogues* of Plato. It is instructive to note the apparent contrast between

should be left for ever. It is a "handwriting of ordinances" every way contrary to us. Illustration here will serve us better than description. The occasion of the most frequent and violent collisions between Jesus and the Pharisees arose out of His attitude to the law of the Sabbath.¹ How inevitable such collisions were will be obvious to every one from the few following examples selected from the copious list given by Schürer.² On the basis of the principal passages in the law relating to the Sabbath³ the scribes constructed a list of thirty-nine works that were forbidden on the Sabbath. Thirty-nine seems a fairly manageable number, but he who enters the path of Sabbath-keeping through the gate of these prohibitions is only at the beginning of his difficulties, for each precept of prohibition breaks into endless definitions of the actions that are or are not to be included under it. Thus reaping and threshing were among the forbidden works, but it was gravely discussed whether plucking a few ears and rubbing them with the hands were to be considered reaping and threshing. The blame thrown upon the disciples in Matthew xii. 1 ff. and pls. was the result of the decision in this case. Their fault was not plucking the ears, which the law expressly permitted,⁴ but reaping and threshing on the Sabbath. Again, tying a knot was a forbidden work, but a distinction was made in favour of knots that could be untied with one hand. Thus a woman was permitted on the Sabbath to tie the strings of her girdle, from which verdict it was voted a legitimate inference that a pail of water might be hung over a well with a girdle but not with a rope. Again, writing was a forbidden work, but it was permitted to write one letter of any

the *speculative* (Greek) and the *practical* (Jewish) type of casuistry. In the one case the result was moral scepticism; in the other, moral bondage. Between these results there seems to be only a distinction without a difference.

¹ Matt. xii. 9-13; Mark iii. 1 ff.; Luke vi. 6 ff., xiii. 10 ff., xiv. 1 ff.; John v. 1 ff., ix. 14 ff.

² II. 2. 96 ff.

³ Ex. xvi. 23 ff., xx. 8 ff., xxiii. 12, xxxi. 12 ff., xxxiv. 21, xxxv. 1 ff.; Lev. xxiii. 3; Num. xv. 32 ff.

⁴ Deut. xxiii. 26.

word, or even two, provided the two were written on different pages or otherwise so that they could not be read together. Again, lighting or extinguishing a fire was forbidden on the Sabbath. Hence if a lamp were to be used on the Sabbath it must have been lit at latest the day previous, and while a vessel might be put under the lamp to catch the sparks, no water must be in the vessel lest the lamp should be extinguished. Yet again, carrying burdens from one tenement to another was forbidden, but a man might artificially extend the idea of his own tenement by carrying food, before the Sabbath, to various points in the area within which he wished to move. The impotent man in John v. 1 ff. had perhaps neglected this precaution, and so made himself liable to a conviction of Sabbath-breaking in carrying his bed. Examples of similar puerilities of scribal reasoning might be multiplied in this and other¹ connections *ad infinitum*. One looks in vain for any outlet of principle from such casuistical labyrinths. A conscientiousness even as to matters in themselves trifling is one of the fine products of the gospel ; but in the same breath in which Jesus commends faithfulness even in that which is least,² He utters an uncompromising protest against the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, and it may fairly be said (looking both to the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul) that the greatest negation of the New Testament is the negation of scribal casuistry. Paul's argument in Galatians iv. 21-31 may be rabbinical in *form*, but no one who has tasted the evangelical spirit will hesitate over his conclusion. The child of the bondwoman must be cast out, if the child of the free is to come to his own. Looking at the matter in the light of the effect which the Pharisaic régime must have had on the average victim, we seem to see a cause for the popularity of Jesus in the early part of His ministry,

¹ Notably in that of the laws of purification. The Old Testament basis for the refinements of the scribes may be found in Lev. xi.-xv.; Num. v. 1-4; in partic. Num. xix. 14 f., xxxi. 20-24. For New Testament instances of these refinements, cp. Matt. xv. 2; Mark vii. 2-5; Matt. xxiii. 25 f.; Luke xi. 38 f.

² Luke xvi. 10; cp. Matt. v. 18-20.

apart from His miracles and authoritative doctrine. His yoke was easy and His burden light.¹ His call was to those who laboured and were heavy-laden. His promise was not merely to consciences that were burdened with real sins, but to those that were suffocated with fictitious ones. The mission of Jesus, read historically, seems to bear the interpretation, that while the observance of the law is the glory of the Lord and His people, its conversion to an instrument of tyranny over the conscience is a graver matter than the transgression in isolated cases of its weightier precepts. In the latter case repentance is possible and even probable ; in the former, the very knowledge of God is made next to impossible.²

Badges of the Pharisees : The Gospels contain references to various special customs of the Pharisees, some of which call for explanation. What, *e.g.*, are the “phylacteries” and “borders of their garments” of Matthew xxiii. 5? The *phylacteries* (Gr. *phulaktérion*, vb. *phulasso*, to guard = amulet or charm) were the *tephillin*, or prayer-straps, worn by every male at morning-prayer except on Sabbaths and holy days. They were of two sorts —the one worn on the arm, the other on the head. On the head strap hung a box in four compartments, one for each of the following passages : Deuteronomy vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21 ; Exodus xiii. 1-10, 11-16, *i.e.* the principal passages of the *Shma'*,³ and the passages

¹ Matt. xi. 28 ff. ; cp. Acts xv. 10.

² Matt. xxi. 28-32, esp. vers. 31 f. In further proof take the simple fact, that while Jesus warns against “sin” in the ordinary sense, He *denounces* the scribes and Pharisees in language which, coming from any righteous lips, would be impressive, and, coming from His, strike with the force of thunderbolts. Cp., *e.g.*, the tone of such warnings as Matt. v. 27-30 ; Luke xii. 15 ff., with such passages as Matt. xxiii. ; Luke xi. 39-52 ; John ix. 41. It is true that the phrase of the apostolic James (Jas. i. 25), “the law of liberty,” expresses the ideally right relation between law and gospel. Nevertheless, the writings of the New Testament in the line of which has flowed the main stream of Christian development are those rather which mark the irreconcilable antithesis between these two terms. May we say that the reason of this is that Pharisaism captured the law, magnifying it but not making it honourable?

³ “*Hear, O Israel*” (*shma'* being Heb. for *hear*).

containing the law of the Passover and of the First-born. The arm straps bore the same passages in parchment. The idea was the beautiful one, that the law was in the head of every Israelite to understand and in his hand to practise. It was characteristic of the Pharisees to externalise the superior piety at which they aimed by wearing a larger size of phylactery. It should be observed that the name phylactery suggests that these symbols of Israel's consecration were regarded as a species of amulet or charm. The same idea of protection against disease is accentuated in the sentiment that grew round the observance, prescribed in Numbers xv. 37 ff., of wearing tassels (Heb. *tsitsith*; Gr. *kraspedon*, transl. *border*) at the corners of the outer garment as a reminder of the commandments of Jehovah. The woman with the issue of blood, who desired to avoid public speech with Jesus, thought it might be sufficient to touch the *kraspedon* (transl. *hem*) of His garment. There, if anywhere, she judged, was the place of virtue.¹ The Pharisees wore larger tassels than others. A similar custom, founded on Deuteronomy vi. 9, but not alluded to in the New Testament, was the fixing up of the *Mezuzah*, or oblong box, on the house and room doors, bearing the inscription of the passages, Deuteronomy vi. 4-9 and xi. 13-21.

The Synagogue: If the temple was the stronghold of the Sadducees, the synagogue was emphatically that of the Pharisees. We have no distinct information as to the date of the institution of the synagogue. The one clear reference to it in the Old Testament occurs in a psalm² which is generally believed to belong to the period of the Maccabæan insurrection, but it is reasonable to date its existence from the period of the Exile itself. In the time of the apostles it could be spoken of as an

¹ Matt. ix. 20; cp. further xiv. 36; Mark vi. 56; Luke viii. 44.

² Ps. lxxiv. 8. The *Mo'ădhē El* can only have been the synagogues, unless we are to assign the psalm to a date anterior to the Exile, a supposition which even so conservative a critic as Delitzsch pronounces preposterous. Local sanctuaries, let alone avowedly heathen shrines, would not have been called "assemblies of God" by any psalmist who had read Deuteronomy.

institution of hoar antiquity.¹ The essential idea of the institution was not so much worship as *instruction*, the instruction that leads to worship, for, said Hillel,* an ignorant man cannot be truly pious. Behind this sentiment was the historical reminiscence that the nation had been saved by the knowledge of the law. The synagogue was the school where this knowledge was imparted. Other knowledge doubtless went along with it, but the name *Beth Hassephar*,² or House of the *Book* (*i.e.* the *Torah* or Law), signalises the fact that to the properly educated Jew all the avenues of knowledge led to the one goal of obedience to the law. In his defence of Judaism against Apion,³ Josephus claims for the discipline of the synagogue a combination of the virtues of Spartan rigour and Athenian enlightenment. An instance of what is meant is offered in such a fact as that children were inured to the practice of fasting on the Day of Atonement for a year or two before the practice was actually required by law. Another may be seen in the practice of bringing boys of tender years to the principal feasts. We may, perhaps, gather from Luke ii. 42 that the usual age for this initiation was twelve; but that this was a matter rather of custom than of law appears from the fact that it was a point in dispute between the schools of Shammai and Hillel who was to be considered a child.⁴ With the first signs of manhood came the status of the *Bar Mitsvah* (son of the commandment) and the obligations to fulfil the whole law. To realise how near the institution of the synagogue lay to all that was vital in Judaism, we may fitly compare it for a moment with the temple. The temple was in Jerusalem only, the synagogue was every-

* *Pirkē 'Abhoth*, ii. 5; see Holtzmann's *Theologie des N. Testaments*, vol. i. p. 136.

¹ Acts xv. 21.

² The name given to the elementary school (reading), as distinguished from the *Beth Hammidhrash*, the name given to the school for higher study.

³ *Contra Ap.* ii. 16, 17; cp. *Antiq.* iv. 8.

⁴ Shammai said: "Everyone who cannot yet ride on his father's shoulder from Jerusalem to the temple-mount"; but the more liberal Hillel said: "Everyone who cannot yet go up to the temple led by his father's hand" (Schürer, ii. 2. 51)

where throughout the Roman Empire. The temple was the seat of a fixed ritual ; the synagogue was a progressive school. The temple was the natural boast of the Jew during the comparatively few centuries of his political importance ; the synagogue remains his specialty to this day. The forms of the temple belong to the childhood of religion, those of the synagogue are reproduced to this day in the freest communities of Christendom. The temple afforded a basis for Christian operations only in so far as it gave opportunity for that teaching which was characteristic of the synagogue, and which was employed both by our Lord and His apostles.¹ The temple perished, but the synagogue and the teaching remained. The references to the synagogue in the Gospels and Acts touch specially its *discipline*, its *officers*, and the *order of its Sabbath service*. In regard to the discipline, it may be affirmed that in purely Jewish communities, where there was naturally no distinction between the civil and the religious authority, the powers of the synagogue were supreme ; and even in such a town as the Galilean Capernaum, where the Gentile element of the population must have been considerable, it may be assumed with confidence that the “elders of the Jews,” whom the Roman centurion besought to mediate between himself and Jesus,² added to their civil duties the control of the synagogue. Excommunication from the synagogue represented to the average Jew a dread not inferior to that which an ordinary Gentile would associate with banishment from his native country. Such a passage as John xii. 42, as compared with John ix. 34, seems to show that the terror of this punishment rather increased than diminished with ascent in the social scale. From rabbinical sources we learn that there was a lesser and a heavier sentence of excommunication, distinguished respectively as *niddin* and *cherem*, the former implying temporary, the latter final excommunication. The gravity of the latter sentence appears in the sense in which its Greek equivalent *anathema* is used

¹ Cp., e.g., Matt. iv. 23 ; Mark i. 21 ; Acts xiii. 14, etc.

² Luke vii. 3 ff.

in the New Testament.¹ Of the officials of the synagogue, in the narrower sense, two are mentioned in the New Testament, the *archisunagogos*,² or “ruler of the synagogue,” and the *hupēretes*,³ or minister. The duties of the *archisunagogos* were confined to the supervision of the public services of the synagogue. He had, *e.g.*, to choose the readers and the speakers. Sometimes the office was divided among several persons. Thus at Antioch of Pisidia the “rulers of the synagogue” exhorted Paul and Barnabas to speak if they had “any word of exhortation for the people.”⁴ From the incident noted in Luke xiii. 10 ff. (esp. ver. 14), we learn that the “ruler of the synagogue” made it his concern to check all that seemed to him of the nature of impropriety of conduct occurring within the synagogue. It was not his function to decide controversial questions regarding the Sabbath, but that an obvious breach of the conventional rules of Sabbath observance should be committed within what he regarded as his special territory seemed not unnaturally intolerable to his official mind.⁵ The *archisunagogos* might fitly be compared with an English churchwarden or a Scottish leading elder, while a near but not exact equivalent of the *hupēretes* might be the verger or beadle. Amongst the duties of the latter were carrying the rolls of Holy Scripture, the execution of sentences of scourging, and the instruction of children in reading. When Jesus, in the synagogue of Nazareth, had read the passage from the prophets, He gave the roll to the *hupēretes*, who would restore it to its case, wrap the case in a linen cloth, and put it in the *Tēbhah*, or chest, along with the other sacred

¹ *E.g.* Rom. ix. iii.; 1 Cor. xii. 3, xvi. 22.

² Mark v. 22 ff.; Luke viii. 41; Acts xiii. 15, etc. The *archisunagogos* is carefully to be distinguished from the *archōn*, or *gerousiarchos*=a member of council, *i.e.* of the Sanhedrin.

³ Luke iv. 20; Heb. *Chazzan Haknēseth*.

⁴ Acts xiii. 15 ff.

⁵ The offence, however, is not analogous to that of a doctor, in modern times, who should coolly treat a patient, casually met in church, during service. If the case had occurred at one of the week-day services, nothing would have been said. The ground of the ruler's indignation was that the Sabbath had been shamelessly broken in the very face of the synagogue.

rolls. Besides the officers named, the Talmud mentions the *Gabbā'ē Tsedhākah*, or receiver of *alms* (*lit.* "righteousness"; cp. Matt. vi. 1 R.V.), who probably existed in our Lord's day,¹ and the 'Asārah Bātlānim, or "ten unemployed," who, at least in later times, were paid to be present at public worship so as to make up the number necessary for a religious assembly, and could be employed for such offices of worship as were not tied by law to special qualifications.² The sanction thus given to a species of extra-mural officer proves a certain flexibility in the customs of the synagogue that had much to do with the popularity of the institution, and that offered advantages—specially in the form of liberty to address the people—of which both our Lord and His apostles frequently availed themselves.³ The service of the synagogue commenced with the recitation of the *Shma* ("Hear, O Israel" . . .), namely, Deut. vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21; Num. xv. 32-41, the charter of Israel's supreme privilege and duty. This was followed by the offering of a prayer uttered by the "delegates of the congregation."⁴ At the prayer the congregation stood,⁵ looking in the direction of the Holy of holies, and at the close joined in the *Amen*.⁶ The prayer was succeeded by the reading of the Scripture lessons, which included always a portion from

¹ Matt. vi. 1 ff., as above, where almsgiving appears alongside of prayer and fasting as a well-recognised public obligation of religion.

² E.g. one of the "ten unemployed" could be selected to offer prayer in name of the congregation, and so be the *shliach tsibbur*, or delegate of the congregation. The expression *unemployed* (Lat. *otiosus*) could refer only to a week-day service, as on the Sabbath every Israelite was necessarily free from business.

³ Luke iv. 16; Acts xvii. 1 f. It is not meant, of course, that the "ten unemployed" existed in the time of our Lord. There is, in fact, no evidence of their existence earlier than the fourth century A.D.; but the references in the Gospels and Acts show that, according to prevailing usage, there was no impropriety in asking casual worshippers to address the congregation.

⁴ The *shliach tsibbur*, as above, for the function of offering prayer, was one of those not tied to an official.

⁵ Matt. vi. 5; Mark xi. 25; Luke xviii. 11.

⁶ Deut. xxvii. 15 ff.; Neh. viii. 6; 1 Chron. xvi. 36; 1 Cor. xiv. 16, may fairly be taken as proof that the practice was reproduced in the early

the Law, and at the forenoon service also a passage from the Prophets. The reading might be done by anyone, even minors.¹ The reader generally stood, but he might sit at the reading of the Book of Esther, as also might the king in reading his portion at the Feast of Tabernacles in the Sabbath year. The whole Pentateuch was divided into 154 *parshiyoth*, or *portions*, and could be read through in three years. There was no lectionary for the Prophets, but a reading from them closed this part of the service on the Sabbath forenoons.² The reading was followed by an *exposition* (*derashah*) given by the *darshan*, or preacher, who delivered his address sitting in an elevated place.³ The service was closed with the benediction, which, unless a priest were present to pronounce it, took the form of a prayer.⁴

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE SCRIBES

It will help to an understanding, not only of the special allusions in the Gospels, but of much belonging to the literary structure of the entire canon of Holy Scripture, if we add here a few remarks on the two specific forms of literary labour—dis-

Christian Church. The leader in prayer stood in front of the chest containing the sacred rolls. Hence *'abhar liphnē hattēbhah* (lit., *to pass in front of the chest*) is the regular Hebrew expression for "to lead in prayer."

¹ Except in the case of the Book of Esther, read at the *Purim* feast. For New Testament instances of the reading usage, cp. Luke iv. 16 ff.; Acts xiii. 15.

² The reading in the Prophets was called *hiphtir banabhi* (lit., "to end with the prophet"), and the prophetic portions were called *hiphtāroth*, or "endings."

³ Luke iv. 20.

⁴ Since the latter end of the first century A.D., the principal prayer of the synagogue service was known as the *Shemoneh 'Esreh*, or "eighteen blessings," which was ordered to be said three times a day by every Jew, including women and slaves. For the full text in English of this very beautiful form, see Schürer, ii. 2. 85-87. The spirit of rabbinism is well illustrated in the elaborate casuistical discussions regarding the duty of repeating prescribed prayers—how often, how much might be omitted, etc. For New Testament allusions, cp. Matt. vi. 5, xv. 7 ff.; Mark vii. 6, xii. 40; Luke xx. 47.

tinguished as *Halachic* and *Haggadic*—which were developed by the scribes. Our reference to the latter may serve in part as an introduction to our important final topic, that, namely, of the Messianic hope. The scribes of New Testament times were doubtless, both in character and literary power, men of very different calibre from Ezra, the priest and scribe, or Ezekiel, the priest and prophet. Nevertheless they sat in Ezra's seat, and it is important to fix in our minds the real historic connection between them and the men of the Return. It is a comparatively stable result of this century criticism, that we are able to date the systematic codifying of the law of Moses, and in general the beginning of the process of canonising the Scriptures, from the time of the Return, or the latter end of the Babylonish exile. This is very far from saying that there were no legal documents (still less no prophetic documents) before the time of Ezra. On the contrary, the entire ministry of Ezra, as (so far as we are concerned) the first of the scribes, and of scribism generally, is intelligible only on the supposition that the great Scriptures of the nation were regarded as already written and their contents as divine revelation. For, from first to last, the scribes were, to their own consciousness, only interpreters, not writers of Scripture,—especially the law, which was *at first*, and theoretically perhaps *always*, their only Scripture, in the strictest sense. All that is meant is, that the impulse to gather together the various writings of Israel's great past, and especially to codify and expound the law, arose out of the circumstances of Ezra's time. Doubtless, a man like Ezra must have recognised the practically supreme value of the existing historical documents, and heard the voice of God, both in the utterances of the "former" prophets and of those of the Exile.¹ Still it is manifest, from the narrative in Ezra and Nehemiah, and from the latter chapters of Ezekiel—the prophet nearest Ezra's own time—that the energies of the scribe of the Return were entirely absorbed by the problem of bringing the nation into conformity with the law, as an instrument of separation from heathenism ; and that, consequently, his tendency would be, however unconsciously, to ignore, in the historical and prophetic writings, everything that did not seem of value in relation to this purpose. But what was with Ezra a natural result of his historic position would gravitate more and more towards the type of scholastic method it had become in the succession of the scribes, long before the time of our Lord. The scribal activity, fully developed, involved the threefold function : (1) of expounding the text of the law ; (2) of teaching it to the unlearned ; and (3) of deciding in individual cases in accordance with its precepts.

¹ In allusion to the Hebrew division of the prophetic and historical books into *Nebhi'im Ri'shonim* and *Nebhi'im Acharonim*=former and latter prophets.

The object of all was to produce an exact and literal obedience, but the inevitable result of the method taken in pursuit of this object was to bury the text of the law, and especially its great leading principles, under a mass of traditional interpretations, and to reduce virtue to a skill in casuistry or a feat of memory. The excessive attention to the all-important matter of conduct tended to make proper conduct either impossible or ridiculous. The generic name given to the immense mass of literature relating to the law, which was produced from age to age by the scribes, was *Halachah*,¹ from a verb signifying to *walk*, i.e. the literature, whose design was to enable one to walk in the way of the man who has perfect blessedness.² In theory the fundamental idea of the Halachah was exposition of the law, but in practice, as the exposition soon lost itself in casuistry, the literature was mainly an ever-growing record of legal decisions, associated with the names of famous masters ; and the merit of the average scribe was to reproduce these decisions in reference to particular cases in the very words in which they had originally been uttered. Hence the childishly prosaic character of the great mass of rabbinical literature, with its endless repetition of the formula : " Rabbi A said, Rabbi B said." Just as in modern times religious men of excessively critical temper have frequently sought escape from the tempest of their exaggerated self-consciousness in the haven of an infallible church, so scribal casuistry, a thing in its own nature of endless questioning, found refuge from itself in acquiescence in an authority not its own ; and in our Lord's day even the people saw the mark of the scribe in the fact that he did not speak as having authority.³ But rabbinism provided a counteractive to itself in another direction of excess. It was impossible for the scribes to ignore the value of the early historic and prophetic literature that existed outside of the Books of Moses. It was still more impossible to ignore the value of the narrative portions of these very books of the law. Manifestly such literature did not lend itself easily to the purpose of legal codification. On the other hand, it might be worked up so as to produce both an instructive exemplification of the blessing of obedience to the law, and a body of edifying doctrine in relation to those matters of religious faith—in particular everything relating to the supersensible world—that seemed to have only a remote relation to conduct. In regard to these matters, rabbinism developed a vein of liberalism that ran into the opposite extreme from that of legal rigidity. The underlying idea of this dualism was that, while conduct was a matter which, as regards even its minutest detail, was fixed by law, doctrine offered free play to the powers of the imagination and the speculative intellect. With the prevalence of this idea

¹ *Halak*, to walk.

² Ps. i. 1.

³ Matt. vii. 29.

grew what is known as the *Haggadic*,¹ or narrative literature, a term which covers all the extra-legal literary activity of the scribes. In relation to the tendency represented by this literature, it may be useful to note two facts : (1) That instances of its operation are traceable within the canonical books of Scripture ; and (2) that it prevails very largely in the extra-canonical Jewish books relating to the Messianic hope. As regards the Old Testament, the Books of Chronicles, Esther, and Daniel offer obvious instances of the Haggadic tendency to illustrate the blessedness of obedience to the law apart from a strict regard to historic fact. The frank recognition of the Haggadic influence in the Books of Chronicles enables us, without any *tour de force*, to decide when necessary between the differing statements of these books and the Books of Kings. The chronicler is not to be accused of priesthood when he improves upon the older narrative of the Kings in order to bring the conduct of the good kings into conformity with the legal standard of his own day. The probable state of the case is, that he cannot conceive the good kings as acting otherwise than as he represents. It is of more interest to us to note the examples of Haggadic amplification that meet us in the New Testament. Schürer gives the following : 2 Tim. iii. 8, which gives the *names* of the Egyptian sorcerers who withheld Moses ; 1 Cor. x. 4, which adds to the narrative of the miraculous provision of water from the rock, the mention of a “rock that followed” the Israelites through the desert ; Acts vii. 53, Gal. iii. 19, Heb. ii. 2, which add to the Sinaitic narrative the detail that the delivery of the law was *mediated by angels* ; Jude, ver. 9, whose reference to the dispute between Michael and Satan testifies an expansion of the narrative in Deuteronomy concerning the death of Moses ; Matt. i. 5, which adds to the reference in the Book of Ruth to Salmon, the father of Boaz, the statement that the wife of Salmon was Rahab ; Luke iv. 25 and Jas. v. 17, which enlarge the three years of famine during the time of Elijah (1 Kings xvii. 1) to three and a half, *i.e.* half a week of years. Instances of Haggadic amplification on a larger scale are offered in such treatments of Old Testament passages as the commentary on the expulsion of Ishmael in Gal. iv. 22 ff., that on Deut. xxx. 12 ff. in Rom. x. 6 ff., and the elaborate argument about Melchisedek in the Epistle to the Hebrews. This free use of the Haggadic Midrash (or sermon) by the New Testament writers, proves that it was widely esteemed, and that much of it tended to lasting edification. As regards the Messianic hope, it was natural that the unknown future of the people of God should offer a tempting sphere to the pious imagination and speculation, of which the *Haggadah* was the expression. What might not happen in the way of glory to

¹ *Nagad* (Heb.), to relate.

Israel and confusion to his enemies in these last days, of which all the prophets had spoken? It was natural that the desire to fill in the details of this bright background of the nation's life should assert itself in proportion to the degree of contrast offered to it by the depressing circumstances of bondage to the foreigner. Believing Israelites realised that these hardships were part of the discipline, by which Jehovah was preparing His people for the final manifestation of His kingdom, but the difficulty was to make this hope real for the mass of their fellow-countrymen. The style of religious romancing developed in the Haggadic literature shows how the problem was sought to be solved. Of special interest here is what is known as the *Pseudepigraphic Apocalyptic* literature, consisting of books written in the style of the New Testament Apocalypse or the latter part of the Book of Daniel, and bearing the names of ancient prophets and saints. Thus we have the *Assumption of Moses*, a lost fragment of which is supposed to contain the narrative referred to in Jude 9, the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (the Baruch of Jer. xxxii. 12 ff.), the *Fourth Book of Ezra*, the *Book of Enoch*, etc. The authors of these books are entirely unknown, some of them, as notably the *Book of Enoch*, are of composite character, and, as it is of course the author's design to conceal every circumstance that would betray to his readers the origin of the work in their own time, it is often difficult to determine with accuracy the date of a particular book or section. The purpose which in the minds of the authors justified this species of literary deception was that of stimulating the faith of their fellow-countrymen in Jehovah, who already in the days of Enoch, Moses, etc., had revealed to His servants all the afflictions that should come to pass and the glory that should follow. In general, the surest indication of the date of a work of this kind is to be found in the minuteness of the references contained in its latter part, for the seer's vision naturally closes with the picture of the events that have happened in the author's own time. Thus the unmistakable references in Dan. xi. to the events in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes indicate that part, at least, of that book (perhaps the whole of it) was not written earlier than the latter half of the second century B.C. The discussion of the very interesting question, whether we are to find in this literature a key to those Messianic references of the New Testament that do not seem to be fully explained by those of the Old, belongs to the subject treated in our closing chapter.

CHAPTER III

OTHER JEWISH DENOMINATIONS

The Essenes:¹ Though this name does not occur in the Gospels, the fact that the sect which bore it had already in the time of our Lord a history of at least 150 years,² taken along with the fact that some highly respectable scholars of recent times—notably Graetz³ and Ginsburg⁴—have hailed as a discovery a supposed connection of our Lord with the sect, justifies a reference here to the subject, if only to indicate that the late Bishop of Durham has, by practically universal assent, fatally pricked the balloon of this speculation. Since Lightfoot's masterly discussions in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians* appeared in 1886, nothing has seemed wanting to the demonstration of the fact, that whatever contact *Essenism* may have had with Christianity towards the end of the apostolic age,

¹ *Essenoi*, and sometimes also *Essaioi*. Our authorities are—(a) Josephus (who uses both names, and whose references extend throughout *Antiq.* bks. xiii.—xviii. ; *Wars*, bks. i.—iii.). (b) Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*, sec. 12. Philo's absurd connection of the name with the Gr. *hosios*, pious, contains at least the reminder of what is probably the true derivation of the name, *i.e.*, *chase'ē* (Heb. *pious*), which in two of its cases (*chase'ēn* and *chāsāyyā'*) accounts for the forms *Essenoi* and *Essaioi*. Other derivations (of slender probability) connect the word with verbs signifying respectively to *heal* and *be silent*. (c) Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 17. On the whole subject see Schürer, ii. 2. 188—218.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 5, 9, where Josephus mentions them as existing in the time of Jonathan the Maccabee.

³ In his *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 368 ff., and 388 ff., 509 ff.

⁴ *The Essenes, their History and Doctrines*: London, 1864. More recently in the same line there is the charmingly written book of Mr. Thomson, on *The Books which Influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, 1891.

there is not a shadow of proof, and there is much to disprove, that it had anything to do with the Christianity of the Gospels, or even with the Judaism of gospel times. Doubtless the Essenes were settled principally in Palestine by the Dead Sea, and their members were mostly Jews. But they were hardly a sect within Judaism. They were a community totally apart, bound together by the strictest rules of communism amongst themselves, and absolute separateness from all others. Their programme included Jewish, and particularly Pharisaic, elements, *e.g.* a rigid observance of the Sabbath and the practice of frequent lustrations, but their differences from orthodox Judaism were far more marked than their resemblances. Thus they eschewed marriage, condemned bloody sacrifices, had no private property, were not propagandists, but gloried in the fact that their sacred books were, under the strictest oaths, known to themselves only ; and though, like the Pharisees, they held a doctrine of angels and spirits, they did so on premisses regarding the nature of matter, which, with all their theoretical liberalism, the Pharisees would have been astute enough to reject, seeing that they involved the denial of the bodily resurrection. Where this foreign influence came from—whether from Persia or, as Josephus¹ himself suggests, from Pythagoras, or, as is most probable, from both combined (the latter through the former)—is a question of interest to the study of the beginnings of Gnosticism in the apostolic period. Lightfoot's theory, that Essenism is the resultant of combinations that became possible after the downfall of the Persian Empire, is of interest to us ; because a degree of probability, similar to that which belongs to it, belongs also to another theory of his, which serves to explain a twofold phenomenon, namely, the obvious absence of Essenic influence from the atmosphere of the Gospels and its seeming presence in that of the later Epistles. The theory is, that the downfall of the Jewish State in 70 A.D. broke up the close corporations of the Essenes, and *inter alia* made possible a

¹ *Antiq.* xv. 10. 4.

combination of Judaism and Essenism in a common antagonism to Christianity. This combination of elements, hitherto inaccessible and even antagonistic to each other, explains the heresy of Gnosticism, at least in its incipient forms ; while the historic conditions which made this combination impossible in the time of our Lord fully account for the total absence of any trace of Essenic influence in the pages of the Gospels.

If these views are even approximately correct, the carefully elaborated theory of Mr. Thomson, that the Apocalyptic literature with which, on grounds of real probability, he supposes our Lord to have been familiar, was produced within the order of the Essenes, must be pronounced highly improbable. It is hardly conceivable that our Lord could have had even a nominal connection with the Essenes ; and even if it were the case, as some scholars, on the basis of a dubious interpretation of a passage in Josephus,¹ have too hastily supposed, that every Jew had to announce his adherence to one or other of the sects, He who said that the scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses's seat, and that salvation was of the Jews, would certainly have chosen the Pharisees in preference to either Samaritans, Essenes, or Sadducees. And if Jesus did not belong to the Essenes, how, in face of the fact that the magical and prophetical books, which undoubtedly existed in the order, belonged to the order exclusively, and could not be divulged without a risk of breaking the most solemn oaths,² could books that were with any accuracy known to Jesus have proceeded from them ?

¹ *Life*, ch. ii., *i.e.* the passage in which he tells of his joining the Pharisees, after a pilgrimage through all the three sects of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, and a visit to the hermit Banus.

² *Wars*, ii. 8. 7. The words are somewhat ambiguous : "To impart to no one the doctrines otherwise than as he himself (the novice) had received them," (and) "to guard similarly the books of their own sect." But it seems clear that they describe the characteristics of a close corporation. If the novice could only be instructed in a fixed method by a teacher within the sect, it is highly improbable that any instruction whatever in the *arcana* of the sect was permitted to be given to those outside—much less an instruction that required free access on the part of the learner to the books of the sect.

Proselytes: If the existence of the Essenes witnesses the fact that there were, in the time of our Lord, Jews who withdrew almost¹ entirely from communion with their fellow-Jews, the name *proselyte* indicates that there were, on the other hand, Gentiles who sought admission into the circle of Jehovah's people. Both the references of the New Testament²—with which may be considered those of Josephus³—and, still more, the references of pagan writers, such as Juvenal and Tacitus, made in however scoffing a spirit,⁴ give clear testimony to the extensive prevalence of proselytism as regards the number both of persons and of the places where it was found. Those who perceive the similarity of the causes which led to this result, with those that account for the comparatively rapid propagation of Christianity, will readily acknowledge the providential nature of it. For these causes can in the main have been none other than the essential reasonableness of the monotheistic creed of the Jews and the emphasis which their scrupulous regard for the law contrived, in spite of all its puerility, to lay upon the practical problem of conduct. The passage cited below (note⁴) from Juvenal is important. For his contemptuous remark, that the prevalent inclination towards Judaism offered an illustration of the propagation of corrupt manners through inheritance may serve as testimony to the fact that there were various degrees of Gentile conformity to the Jewish standard. Through its use of the separate terms of description—*prosēlutoi* (Matt. xxiii. 15; Acts ii. 10) or “proselytes,” and *sebomenoi ton Theon*, or simply

¹ For the fact that the Essenes sent gifts (though not animals for sacrifice) to the temple proves that their separation from orthodox Judaism was not complete.

² Matt. xxiii. 15; Acts ii. 5-11, x. 2, 22, xiii. 16, 26, 43, 50, xvii. 4, 17.

³ *Contra Ap.* ii. 10. 39.

⁴ Hor. *Sat.* i. 4. 142 f.; Pers. *Sat.* v. 179-184; Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 96-106; and a remarkable passage from Seneca, quoted by Augustine (*De Civ. Dei.* vi. 11), in which, after referring to the conquest of the Jews, and referring to them as “the most criminal nation,” he still acknowledges the prevalence of Jewish custom and ritual to such an extent that “the conquered gave laws to the conquerors.”

sebomenoi (Acts x. 2, 22, xiii. 16, 26, etc., xvii. 4, 17), “worshippers of God,” “worshippers,” “devout”—the New Testament suggests, what we know otherwise to have been the fact, that a distinction was made between those who were merely, as we might say, “adherents” of the Jewish communion and those who were “proselytes” (Heb. *gērim*) in the proper sense, namely, persons admitted through circumcision and acceptance of the obligations of the whole law to the full privileges of a Jewish communicant. On the other hand, the *sebomenoi* are not (as they often are) to be confounded with the *gerē toshābh* (later *gere hashā'ar*) or “proselytes of the gate,” who were simply foreigners dwelling in the land, and theoretically subject to what the Talmud calls the “seven Noachian Precepts,”¹ but not submitting to the three rites of circumcision, bathing, and blood-sprinkling, which were required in the case of proselytes proper, or even respecting the law in the degree of the *sebomenoi*.

Zealots and Herodians: Though these names occur in the Gospels² as denominations of sections of the Jewish people (at least in Palestine), they may be dismissed here with little more than the remark that they were political rather than distinctively religious parties, and have therefore only an indirect relation to the subject of this Part. The apartness of our Lord from Jewish politics, as such, may fairly be regarded as symbolised in the fact that one of His disciples was a Zealot and another a pub-

¹ These were (1) obedience to authority, (2) sanctifying the name of God, (3) abstinence from idolatry, (4) from fornication, (5) from murder, (6) from theft, (7) from eating flesh with blood. Acts xv. 20 makes it evident that some, at least, of these precepts were a recognised rubric in relation to Gentiles in the time of the apostles. On the whole subject of Proselytism and the Judaism of the Dispersion, of which it forms a part, see Schürer, ii. 2. 220–327 (on *Proselytism*, pp. 291–327). It should be observed that while, as above, the *sebomenoi* do not correspond with the rabbinical *gere hashā'ar*, the *prosēlutoi* of the New Testament correspond exactly with the other term in the rabbinical nomenclature, namely, *gere hatsedhek* (“strangers of righteousness,” *i.e.* strangers living in the land and observing the law).

² Luke vi. 15, “Simon called Zelotes”; cp. Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 18, where the word misleadingly rendered “Canaanite” is simply the Aramaic equivalent for the Gr. *Zelotes*. For the *Herodians*, cp. Mark xii. 13, etc.

lican.¹ For these names mark the extremes of fanatical Jewish patriotism, and an indifference that was ready to risk excommunication for the sake of gain. It is true that Zealotism was inspired by an idea that was at once intensely Jewish and intensely religious,² but the Zealots themselves would have repudiated the idea that they were a religious sect. They were the nationalists of their time, and the object of their union was to give political effect to the strict theocratic doctrines of the synagogue, of which the Pharisees were the guardians. Obviously the Pharisees could not theoretically have condemned, but must rather have approved of the object of the Zealots, but they seem to have protected themselves against a dangerous implication in their counsels by their doctrine of providence and the disciplinary ills that had befallen the nation for its neglect of the law. The Romans and the Herodian dynasty were scourges to be borne with outward quiescence. In particular, the Herods were to be tolerated, partly because of their connection by marriage with the Maccabæan family, but mainly in effect because they undoubtedly served as a buffer between the privileges of the Jews and the cool and contemptuous rapacity of the average Roman governor. Two examples may serve to illustrate the situation. The one is the cynical speech of Gamaliel, reported in Acts v., in which he easily persuades the Sanhedrin to let the Christian apostles alone, on the ground that they, like other zealots, may safely be left to the discipline of Providence; the other is the fact, of more immediate interest to us at present, that the *Herodians*, following the example of the Herods themselves, were able, without making themselves ridiculous, to profess adherence to the party of the Pharisees. They did not share, indeed, what were understood to be the political views of the Pharisees; but nothing could better illustrate the total

¹ Matt. x. 3.

² The idea expressed in the motto of the great nationalist movement of two centuries back: *Mi kamocha ba'ēlim Yahveh* ("Who like Thee among the gods, Jehovah?"), words which are said to have supplied the consonants out of which the name *Maccabee* was composed.

separation generally prevailing between politics and religion than the fact that the Pharisees as a religious sect could reckon among their adherents two such political opposites as the Zealots and the Herodians.

The Samaritans: Though it is a position patently defensible from the Gospels themselves that the Samaritans, with whom the Jews had “no dealings,”¹ were in no proper sense a Jewish sect, the comparative prominence given to them in the Gospels, taken in connection with the fact that the rabbinical references to them hover between the expression of bitter hostility and a desire to do them justice as a people who could not be called idolaters, but whose Israelitish descent was, to say the least, doubtful, entitles them to more than a mere mention. The causes of the virulent hostility with which the Jews regarded them, and which, even in the time of our Lord, behind the cover of the Herods, they were not slow to reciprocate, are written plainly in the facts of history. At every critical period throughout the entire history of the purist and priestly reconstruction of Israel, that dates from the return of the exiles under Ezra, they favoured and were in turn favoured by the heathen opponents of Jewish aspirations. They excited the jealousy of the Medes² so far as to secure the temporary interruption of the building of the second temple. They yielded to the aggressive Hellenising of Antiochus Epiphanes, and purchased his favour by repudiating connection with the Jews and dedicating their temple to Jupiter. In the time of our Lord it was remembered that their city of Samaria, which had been destroyed by the Maccabæan prince Hyrcanus, had been rebuilt by the Roman Gabinius, and beautified by the Idumæan Herod. On the whole, the facts were such that the average Jew of our Lord’s time might well fortify himself in the persuasion that history had more than vindicated the rejection by Zerubbabel and his followers of the claim advanced by the Samaritans, to participate in the rebuilding of the temple, on the ground that since the days

¹ John iv. 9.

² Ezra iv. 2 ff.

of Esar Haddon, king of Assyria, they had sacrificed to Jehovah even as the Jews; and it is not difficult for us to feel the virulence of the taunt hurled against Jesus by the Pharisees, "Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil!"¹ We can readily understand also how well it accorded with the universalist tendency of the Third Gospel to record the parable of the Good Samaritan² and the story of the Samaritan who alone of the ten cleansed lepers returned to give thanks,³ the idea plainly being that one who, in the common view, was a heathen or even worse, might still be more responsive to the plain-written laws of mercy and gratitude than an orthodox priest or layman of the undoubted sons of Abraham. Albeit, a sober inquiry into the prevailing views of the Samaritans seems to reveal the fact that, apart from their erection of a rival shrine on Mount Gerizim—a course which might seem justified by historic necessity,—and apart from their rejection of all scriptures save the Pentateuch, and of the Pharisaic tradition—a rejection not unnatural in view of the fact that the great mass⁴ of the prophetic and other writings were addressed to a time posterior to the deportation of the ten tribes, and in the main contained no hopeful recognition of their existence,—the Samaritans were clearly on a different footing from the Essenes. Their doctrines included no heathen elements. They were rigid monotheists, and, so far from being sun-worshippers like the Essenes, they gradually abolished the heathen cults imported from Assyria, and conformed their religious practice to the standard of Deuteronomy, by allowing only one shrine and one type of sacrificial ritual. Moreover, on the basis of Deut. xviii. 15, they held the Messianic hope an element of faith, of which there is not in the known views of the Essenes the slightest trace. While

¹ John viii. 48.

² Luke x. 30 ff.

³ *Ib.* xvii. 12 ff.

⁴ Of the strictly prophetic writings, all except those of Amos, Hosea, Micah, and in part Isaiah. In these writings, however, nothing is more pronounced than the note of final judgment against Samaria. Cp., e.g., Amos viii. 2; Hos. xiii. 1-16; Mic. i. 5 f.; Isa. vii, 8 f.

the evidence that has been extracted from rabbinical writings¹ goes on the whole to show that the estimate of the religious position of the Samaritans by the Jews varied with the pressure of the always existing antagonism, there is enough in the known facts of Samaritan doctrine and practice to warrant our siding with an obvious difference in meaning with a rabbinical notice² of them, which expresses the extreme of Jewish favourable regard, and which in effect places them, in respect of orthodoxy, on a par with the Sadducees: "The Sadducees, when they follow the customs of the fathers, are equal to the Samaritans." It is also a fact, for which Edersheim can quote rabbinical authority, and which is confirmed by at least two references in the Gospels,³ that their land, springs, houses, and roads were declared clean. The ground of this declaration was the fact that they were no idolaters, but worshippers of Jehovah. It was even declared that if they renounced the shrine at Gerizim, and confessed the resurrection of the dead, they might be received into the synagogue. It is obvious that none of these declarations—and least of all another⁴ which went the length of declaring their food clean—could have been made by the Judaism of our Lord's day in the case of the Essenes. Nevertheless, it is clear—to sum up—that these concessions were obtained with difficulty, even from the calm temper of rabbinical theorising. The prevailing attitude towards the Samaritans regarded them as foreigners and enemies. The name *Kuthim* (Gr. *Kuthaioi*)—from Cuthah in Assyria—which is given them in Jewish writings, suggests more than scepticism as to their Israelitish descent. It is a name of spite and unconquerable dislike. At the mildest, the Samaritans are the "foolish people that dwell at Shechem,"⁵ and it is a legitimate and customary

¹ Notably among English scholars by Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*.

² *Tract Nidda*, iv. 2, quoted by Edersheim.

³ Luke ix. 52; John iv. 4-8.

⁴ This declaration probably enabled the disciples to buy food in Shechem (John iv. 8), without the shadow of a scruple.

⁵ Ecclus. I. 25 f.

wish of the pious Israelite that he may never meet a Samaritan. When our Lord sent His apprentice missionaries to the cities of Israel, He expressly exempted the Samaritans from their operations, the object doubtless being not to complicate matters at that early stage by raising the great question of the salvation of the Gentiles. Obviously, that question would have been raised in an acute form in relation to the Samaritans. As regards their religious orthodoxy, it cannot escape our notice that it both was in the time of our Lord and has continued ever since a thing utterly dead. Through its retention of the prophetical and other writings of the Old Testament, and thus abiding by rivers of memories, which, if old, were great, the Judaism of ancient Jerusalem had stored in itself a vitality, which enabled it to survive the shock of political extinction, and root itself amid a thousand difficulties in every land. But Samaritanism, dead from the beginning, with no great memories, with no living prophets, and but the voice of a dead one, with no history and no future, abides still by Mount Gerizim awaiting burial. Our Lord no doubt taught the characteristic truth of the age that came with Himself, when He assured the woman of Samaria that the hour had come when, neither in Jerusalem nor in Mount Gerizim would men worship the Father.¹ Yet we are not to see a mere argument of accommodation, but a deep historic insight in His striking assertion that "salvation" was "of the Jews."²

¹ John iv. 21.

² John iv. 22.

CHAPTER IV

THE MESSIANIC HOPE

The Importance of the Subject: At no point does the relation of the New Testament to the Old lie nearer the heart of the Christian faith than in the fact that Jesus claimed to be the *Messiah*,¹ or *Christ*, promised through the voice of the prophets to the Jews. And than this fact it is obvious that from the point of view of the Gospels none is more important. For the object of all the Gospels is that which the author of the Fourth Gospel² expressly declares to be his, namely, to prove that "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." It is not our business here to explain with fulness (if that were possible) what our Lord's Messiahship meant to Himself, and what consequently it ought to mean for Christians. That great subject can concern us here, only in so far as it may be illustrated by the conceptions of the Messiah's person and work, that were more or less current amongst His Jewish contemporaries. If, even in the physical region, the word and act of Jesus were creative, much more was it His to make all things new in the region of ideas and moral enthusiasms. What we wish to look at here is not His new creation,

¹ *Messiah* is from the Hebrew, *Christ* from the Greek. Both words signify the *Anointed*. The name is applied in the Old Testament to kings (Ps. ii. 2), high priests (Dan. ix. 25f. for the *word*, and, for the idea ("sons of oil," margin) Zech. iv. 14), and even indirectly to prophets (Ps. cv. 15; cp. 1 Kings xix. 16). In the former passage *prophets* is rhythmical parallel to *anointed*, and both words are used of Israel as a whole. This threefold use of the word *Messiah* might alone have suggested the Puritan division of the offices of our Lord into *prophet*, *priest*, and *king*.

² John xx. 31.

but the natural history of the old out of which He caused this wonder to spring. We propose to attempt this here (1) by fixing as firmly as possible in our minds the relevant Messianic¹ facts attested by the New Testament itself, in particular the Gospels, and (2) by asking what relation these phenomena bear to the prophecies of the Old Testament. In particular, do these latter fully explain them? If not, can we discover the missing links between the Messianic phenomena of the Old Testament and those of the New? It may be well to begin with

The Attitude of our Lord Himself to the Messianic Rôle: For it is important to observe that while the Gospels attest that Jesus accepted the rôle of the Messiah, they affirm with equal clearness that He did not do so openly till near the end of His ministry.² Even so late as the beginning of the last critical months, when He elicited from His disciples the confession that He was the Messiah, "He charged them that they should tell no man that He was Jesus the Christ,"³ and it is a fair inference from the words of Simon Peter regarding the current popular verdicts,⁴ that no considerable section of the Jewish populace at that time regarded Jesus as the Messiah. The reason of this secrecy lay doubtless in the consciousness that, so far as His own line of

¹ It should be noted that we use the word *Messianic* here in the extended sense (now common), that, namely, which covers all that relates to Jewish hopes and beliefs regarding the last things, and not merely what relates to the Messiah's person and work. The need for this distinction arises from the fact noted below, that the figure of the Messiah was not at all times a prominent or even an essential element in the Jewish hope of the future.

² Matt. xvi. 20 and pls. His avoiding of publicity in connection with His miracles (Luke viii. 56, etc.) may not inappropriately be cited, for it doubtless connected itself with a current idea that the Messiah would work miracles (John vii. 31, cp. xiv. 11b). John iv. 26 offers no exception, for, first, the Samaritans were a community apart; second, it is not said that Jesus asserted to the Samaritans generally that He was the Messiah. The point of the narrative rather is that He let them draw their own conclusions (vers. 39 and 42).

³ Matt. xvi. 20; cp. Mark viii. 30; Luke ix. 21.

⁴ See in the passages cited, vers. 14, 28, 19, in Matthew, Mark, and Luke respectively.

action was concerned, the Messianic ideas of His fellow-countrymen were far removed from His own. He would not encourage false hopes, and He would not come prematurely into conflict with the authorities at Jerusalem.¹ On the other hand, He gave unmistakable testimony to His Messiahship both to the uncritical people and the keenly hostile authorities. He entered Jerusalem riding on an ass, in fulfilment of a prophecy,² currently regarded as Messianic, and accepted the salutation, which a psalm of the period of the Return had kept in store for the promised ideal Son of David.³ Also He solemnly confessed His Messiahship, under judicial examination, before the high priest and before Pilate. He was the "Son of God" (Luke xxii. 10), the "Son of the Blessed" (Mark xiv. 61 f.), the "King of the Jews" (John xviii. 37, cp. vers. 33 and 39), and, above all, He was the "Son of Man," who should hereafter come with the clouds of heaven and sit on the right hand of power.⁴ It is

¹ Cp. John vi. 15, viii. 59, x. 39 f., xi. 53 f.

² Zech. ix. 9; cp. Matt. xxi. 4 f. and pls.

³ Ps. cxviii. 25 f.; cp. Matt. xxi. 9, and pls.

⁴ Matt. xxvi. 63 f. and pls. The hitherto prevailing verdict of the critics is that the title *Son of Man* was not a current designation of the Messiah. For reasons to be stated further on we cannot accept this verdict without qualification. No doubt, however, the letter of Matt. xxvi. 63 f. gives colour to it, inasmuch as the name *Son of Man* is not used by the high priest, but only the seemingly more lofty—yet really on his lips less significant—title, *Son of God*. It should be noted that the crime of which Jesus was convicted was not that of claiming to be the Messiah, which could hardly have been considered of itself a capital offence. The charge against Him was that of blasphemy. He had a conception of Himself and His Messiahship, which led Him to make Himself equal with God (John v. 18). It is significant that to the mind of the high priest He proves Himself guilty of this blasphemy, through a sentence in which He speaks of Himself as the Son of Man. Evidently neither *Son of God* nor *Son of Man* meant very much to the high priest. The one thing clear to him was that the Person before him was to all intents making Himself equal with God. To those who make much of the absence of the Messianic title, *Son of Man*, from all *indubitably* pre-Christian literature, it may not be impertinent to reply that a similar silence characterises the New Testament writers, who, if we except Acts vii. 56, Rev. i. 13, and Heb. ii. 6 ff., never speak of Jesus or represent others as addressing Him as the Son of Man. Could we therefore infer that until the Gospels were written there

admitted in regard to all these titles—except that of the Son of Man—that they were in our Lord's day current designations of the Messiah—a fact which may be considered to clinch the proof that, in the large sense, our Lord claimed to be the fulfiller of the hopes of the Jewish nation. A side proof of the same may be found in the eschatological sayings of Jesus to His disciples, *e.g.*, the promise that they should sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt. xix. 28), and the discourse on Mount Olivet, recorded in Matt. xxiv. and pls., much of which is entirely in the style, and largely in the very language, of the canonical prophets.¹ His acceptance—apparently without reserve—of current interpretations of passages reputed Messianic should also be observed.² This use by our Lord of current phrases and ideas stamps the investigation regarding these latter with a unique value.

Popular Ideas regarding the Messiah: Apart from the proof that our Lord did actually accept the rôle of the Jewish Messiah, the passages in the Gospels which incidentally refer to what the “people” or any section of them say about the Messiah are of more concern to us here than those in which Jesus as the Messiah speaks of Himself. It may be convenient to divide these references into: (a) Those that relate to an individual Messiah—His person and His work; (b) those that are Messianic in the extended sense of referring to the last times, whether or not the figure of the Messiah comes into view. In reference specially to (a), we must beware of using the comments of the Christian evangelist (the remark applies specially to Matthew) as evidence of current Jewish views. *E.g.*, it would be precarious to infer

was not in Christian circles a generally prevailing remembrance that Jesus had used this title above all others to express the significance of His person and work? For addition to this note, see Appendix A.

¹ *E.g.*, cp. Matt. xxiv. 29 with Joel ii. 30f., and ver. 30 with Dan. vii. 13. Acts ii. 16ff. illustrates how this manner of the Lord was copied by the disciples.

² *E.g.*, cp. Matt. xxii. 44 (cp. Ps. cx. 1), and Matt. xvii. 11ff. and pls. (cp. Mal. iv. 5f.).

from the first evangelist's use of the prophecy about Immanuel,¹ that it was generally believed by the Jews that the birth of the Messiah would be supernatural, and, in fact, there is no clear evidence of such a belief in any extant pre-Christian writing. The most that can be said, perhaps, is that it is an easily conceivable variation of the undoubtedly prevalent view that the origin of the Messiah would be mysterious.² A similar caution may, with less emphasis, be given in relation to the Messianic ideas ascribed to John the Baptist. For, though the Baptist stood on Old Testament ground, and so might be considered as simply dealing in earnest with ideas taught by the scribes, we may believe that the conceptions of one whom our Lord characterised as "more than a prophet," went far beyond the horizon of current ideas.³ Our safe ground is to be found in those passages, in which the evangelists are not giving their own comments, or reporting the sayings of so unique a person as the Baptist, but are only quoting popular remarks, or using current phrases about the Messiah or the Messianic time.

A.—Conceptions relative to the Individual Messiah

Son of David: Keeping to this ground we note that it was generally believed that the Messiah would spring from the stock of David. Not only do the scribes say that the Christ is the

¹ Matt. i. 23; cp. Isa. vii. 14.

² John vii. 27.

³ The passage John iii. 27 ff. may serve as instance, even if we consider the words of the Baptist to end at ver. 31. If we are to consider ver. 34 as an utterance of the Baptist we may see, specially in the latter clause, the final dogmatic expression from a Jewish standpoint of a conception as genuinely Jewish as it was Christian. The Baptist's leading conception of the Messiah—revealing at once the strength and the limits of Old Testament piety—was that of an unlimited spiritual potency (vested in a person) in wisdom and energy, exerted for the destruction of evil (in particular, hypocrisy) and the establishment of righteousness. The special character of his own ministry of repentance tended to restrict his view to the negative aspects of the Messiah's work. It was a trial to his faith that the work of judgment, of which he had mainly testified, did not immediately or even at all appear in the programme of Jesus (Matt. xi. 2 ff. and pls.).

Son of David,¹ but a promiscuous multitude hail Jesus with this title when He enters Jerusalem on His last fateful visit.²

Son of God: On the lips of many the dignity of the Messiah was expressed by the phrase *Son of God*, a title which, while not implying that He was of one substance with God, certainly carried with it the idea of an investment with extraordinary powers.³ Even if we unwarrantably rejected the testimony of the unclean spirits and the demons,⁴ or supposed that the fourth evangelist was antedating matters when he makes Nathanael say to Jesus, "Thou art the Son of God, the King of Israel,"⁵ we still have the statement in Matthew xiv. 33, that those in the ship with Jesus testified, after the miracle of His walking upon the water, that He was of a truth the "Son of God." There is, furthermore, the question of the high priest, whether He were "the Christ the Son of God."⁶

Son of Man: There seems to be strong if not irresistible evidence in the Gospels alone, that within a circle of our Lord's hearers—much narrower indeed than the general populace but much wider than the company of immediate disciples—the phrase *Son of Man* was current as a title of the Messiah, and that the ultimate basis of the usage was Daniel vii. 13. Godet⁷ is perhaps

¹ Mark. xii. 35.

² Matt. xxi. 9, 15 and pls.

³ Cp. note above on the Messianic conception of the Baptist.

⁴ E.g., Mark iii. 11, v. 6 ff.

⁵ John i. 49.

⁶ Matt. xxvi. 63; Mark xiv. 61; Luke xxii. 67-70. Mark gives the variant "Son of the Blessed," and in doing so probably illustrates his characteristic accuracy in matters of detail. If we remember that it was an impropriety to pronounce the name Jehovah (Yahveh) even at the solemn reading of the Scriptures in the synagogue, it cannot but seem to us likely that one so sensitive to the note of blasphemy as the high priest would use a periphrasis even for the commoner divine name on what might seem to him the *secular* occasion of a criminal trial. It does not seem likely that the Roman centurion would use the phrase (Matt. xxvii. 54; Mark xv. 39), and we are thankful for the variant "righteous man" of the third evangelist (Luke xxiii. 47).

⁷ See his commentary, *in loc.* The argument bases specially on the words of "the people" (*ho ochlos*), "Who is this Son of Man?" Obviously the argument is greatly weakened, if it is considered that an emphasis should be laid on the demonstrative pronoun.

right in finding in John xii. 34 a proof, of what is most probably the fact, that the people were but vaguely if at all familiar with this phrase as a title of the Messiah, but surely an equal degree of probability attaches to the supposition that the class composed of the chief priests, scribes, and Pharisees had a deep, if for obvious reasons only cautiously expressed, conviction, that by His use (His *persistent* use) of this title Jesus meant to assert and was formally confirming His claim to the Messiahship. Apart from the unlikelihood that Jesus would habitually designate Himself by a phrase, which, however deeply suggestive it has become to us, cannot be said to carry its explanation in itself, and whose presence in the Gospels constitutes, without derogation from the holy originality of Jesus, a problem for the reader, there are at least two passages in the Gospels which seem to corroborate our assertion. The one is the passage—Matthew ix. 1 ff. and pls.—in which it is proved to the scribes that the Son of Man has power even *on earth* to forgive sins, and in which surely the point depends largely upon the presence in the minds of the scribes of an idea, founded probably on the Messianic interpretation of Daniel vii. 13, that the power of the Son of Man was exerted mainly if not solely in heaven. The other is the passage, Matthew xxvi. 64 ff. and pls., where the high priest rends his clothes over the blasphemy of Jesus identifying Himself with the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven. We cannot suppose the high priest ignorant of the passage in Daniel. Neither, on the other hand, can we suppose that he gave to that passage the modern and certainly¹ correct interpretation, which

¹ This in spite of the judgment of so reliable a critic as Riehm, who regards the passage as, in the intention of the author, referring to the Messiah, in face of the fact that the significance of the symbolic figure of "one like unto a Son of Man" (the "*the* Son of Man" of the A.V. is a mistranslation, under influence of the idea that the Messiah is meant) is explained quite otherwise by the apocalypticist himself (vers. 18, 22, 27). Riehm was biased by his desire to see in the Book of Daniel an example of the effort made by apocalyptic writers, in the time subsequent to that of the latest prophets, to revivify, apart from historical occasion, the Messianic figure of earlier days. He wished further to connect Dan. vii. 13 with the passage in the Jewish

sees in it no reference whatever, so far as the intention of the author is concerned, to an individual Messiah, but only a symbolic representation of the "people of the saints of the Most High," *i.e.* the godly in Israel. Clearly the high priest understood Jesus to be asserting His Messiahship, and, while the idea of the Messiah did not in itself probably imply to his mind the possession of strictly divine attributes, nevertheless the outlining of the Messiah's figure had been left by the later apocalypticists vague enough to admit of the loftiest theory as to His origin and destiny. There was something in the bearing and intonation of Jesus in citing the Daniel passage, which gave the high priest the fatefully correct impression, that the prisoner before him was laying claim, not only to Messianic dignity, but to *such* a Messianic dignity as implied equality of power with God. How much sincerity we are prepared to allow to the high priest's profession of horror at the blasphemy of Jesus will depend in part on our estimate of the distance between the conception of the Messiah's dignity, sanctioned by the Old Testament, and intermediate writings, and that conveyed by the personal bearing of Jesus.

Origin of the Messiah to be Mysterious: Akin to the Messianic idea of the Son of Man (as based on Daniel vii. 13), and, likely enough, originating from it, was the generally prevailing impression that the origin of the Messiah would be veiled in mystery. Thus, in John vii. 21 ff., a section of the populace of Jerusalem express surprise at the callousness of the rulers in view of the seeming Messianic pretensions of Jesus. The rulers, they seem to say, can surely never have recognised this man as, after all, the Messiah, for both they and we know whence He is, but "when the Christ cometh no man knoweth whence He is."¹ It

Sibylline books (iii. 652 ff.) about the king, who should "cause the whole earth to cease from hurtful war." This king was to be sent by God *ap' Eēlioio*, a phrase which, in the context, undoubtedly signifies "from the East," but which it suited Riehm's purpose to translate (as does also Westcott), "from the sun."

¹ Cp. also Luke iv. 22-28; Mark vi. 3; Matt. xiii. 55, where, without any special reference to the Messiah, there is the idea that one who does extra-

would be precarious, however, to infer a prevalent belief in the Messiah's supernatural birth. The view expressed by the populace may connect itself simply with a notion, of which we have testimony elsewhere,¹ that between His birth and the commencement of His ministry the Messiah would be concealed from the vision of men. On other grounds, however, it seems almost certain that the tendency in our Lord's day was rather towards a more than towards a less exalted view of the origin of the Messiah. There is, *e.g.*, the phrase "kingdom of heaven" (lit. *of the heavens*) so frequent in the First Gospel as the synonym of the "kingdom of God." It cannot be objected either that this phrase had become so usual as to cease to be suggestive, or that it belongs to a mode of conceiving the hope of the righteous, that was characterised by the absence of the figure of the Messiah. For, on the one hand, the phrase, however ancient, is not so ancient as the Old Testament, and may mark, therefore, a growth of idea (of the kind just indicated) falling between the Old Testament period and the New, and, on the other hand, at a time when the Messianic kingdom was conceived as belonging to the heavenly regions, the Messiah, if thought of at all, could hardly be conceived otherwise than the Baptist is represented as conceiving Him, when he says, "He that cometh from above is above all" (John iii. 31).

ordinary things and makes extraordinary claims should not be familiarly known. Jesus signalises this idea as a characteristic human weakness (Matt. xiii. 57 and pls.).

¹ We find this idea with distinctness in post-Christian Judaism. Thus the Jew in Justin Martyr's *Dial. c. Tryph.* (ch. 8) allows the possibility that the Messiah may be already born: "And if the Christ has been born and exists somewhere, He is unknown, and not even He Himself yet understands Himself, or has any power." Again, in the Targum on Micah iv. 8, it is assumed that the Messiah is present but concealed because of the sins of the people. A comparison of the *pre*-Christian and *post*-Christian Jewish writings on this point seems to justify the assertion that the pre-Christian views tend more to the idea of a supernatural origin of the Messiah (without any idea, however, of a supernatural physical birth), while those of post-Christian times rather recede from this idea. The reason of the latter phenomenon is doubtless antagonism to the Christian idea of incarnation.

The Programme of the Messiah: However indeterminate the view of the Messiah's origin might be, there was no lack of definiteness in the general conception of what He was to do. He would assume royal functions, deliver Israel from political bondage, and gather the nations under her sceptre.¹ This expectation was largely prevalent throughout the Jewish world, and the prophecies, on which it was founded, became later, through Josephus, of some interest to the Romans, who regarded them as pointing to the Emperor Vespasian.² Theoretically, doubtless, the expectation fell in with the views of the Pharisees, and was, of course, ardently cherished by the Zealots. But it is tolerably clear from the Gospels alone that the Pharisees were, as a party, fearful of encouraging anything of the nature of political agitation. It is no mere hostility to Jesus but a genuine alarm which they express, when they indicate their feeling regarding the fanatical admiration with which, after the raising of Lazarus, the multitude are inclined to follow Jesus :³ "If we let Him alone, all men will believe on Him, and the Romans will come and take away

¹ John vi. 15; cp. Acts i. 6.

² Cp. Tac. *Hist.* v. 13; Suet. *Vesp.* c. 4, and for the source of both passages Josephus, *Wars*, vi. 5. 4. The words in Tacitus are as follows: "Many were persuaded that it was contained in the ancient writings of the priests that at that very time the East would prevail and the rulers of the world issue from Judæa. These oracles had pointed to Vespasian and to Titus, but the vulgar" (i.e. the Jews, as we see from the parallel passage in Suetonius) "in their usual wanton way claimed this extraordinary destiny for themselves, and were not converted to the truth even by the contrary event" (i.e. the fall of Jerusalem). The idea of the reference of the prophecies to Vespasian seems to have originated with Josephus, who, in the passage above noted, ascribes the origin of the Jewish war to the fact that many referred a doubtful oracle, which spoke of one who should govern the world from the land (of the Jews) as referring to the Jews. Many of the wise, he goes on to say, were confounded by the event, for the oracle clearly pointed to the supremacy of Vespasian, who in Judæa had been manifested as the absolute ruler. The whole passage offers an admirable instance of the way in which the astute Jewish historian sought to reconcile his patriotism with a continuance of the favour of his Roman patrons.

³ John xi. 48. The same spirit of timid reserve appears with a dash of cynicism in the famous speech of Gamaliel, Acts v. 34 ff.

both our place and our nation." That is, they were persuaded, and so far, of course, their instinct was correct, that any revival of Messianic hope among the people, that proceeded by way of political agitation, was fallacious and could lead only to disaster.

The Miracles of the Messiah: An impression regarding the Messiah, equally prevalent with the last, was that He would work miracles. This idea underlies the cunning demand of the Pharisees and the Sadducees that Jesus should show them a sign from heaven.¹ For their probable intention was to make capital with the people out of His certain refusal. The popular view meets us directly in the words ascribed in John vii. 31 to "many of the people": "When the Christ cometh, will He do more miracles than this man doeth?" The naturalness of this view finds defence in our Lord's own saying: "Believe Me, for the very works' sake" (John xiv. 10).

The Messiah and "the Prophet": Less universal but widely prevalent was a view, arising out of a Messianic rendering of Deut. xviii. 18,² which identified the Messiah with the "prophet who should come into the world." Clearly the crowd who say, in John vi. 14, "This is of a truth that prophet, which should come

¹ Matt. xvi. 1 ff. The passage might also be cited as witness to the prevalence of the idea that the Messiah would have a heavenly origin or, at anyrate, sphere of action. The Pharisees seem to have insinuated that the miracles actually wrought by Jesus were of an *earthly* kind. Show us, they seem to say, a miracle that is genuinely heavenly. Perhaps there is a reference, obvious to Jesus, if not to the multitude, to Dan. vii. 13: Show us, *e.g.*, the sign of the Son of Man coming in the clouds. It rather confirms this view that the answer of Jesus points so directly to His future personal experience. They will really have a sign in which the Person of the Son of Man will be concerned. For the spirit of His answer, compare the words to Nicodemus (John iii. 12).

² For the real sense of this passage, cp. the context, vers. 14 f. Israel in his own land is not to be guided by heathen diviners or by those who speak falsely in the name of Jehovah, but by genuine prophets like Moses himself. Probably the use of the singular number suggested the Messianic rendering to scribal commentators. In this case the exegesis is parallel with that in Gal. iii. 16, where the rabbinical training of the Apostle Paul appears in the argument that the promise made to Abraham was made to the Christ also—Abraham's *singular* seed.

into the world," make no distinction between the prophet and the king (ver. 15). Owing to their exclusive use of the Pentateuch, the Messianic conception of the Samaritans seems to have been entirely the prophetic one. "I know," said the woman of Samaria,¹ "that when Messias cometh, He will tell us all things."

Acts iii. 22 gives certain proof that the Messianic rendering of Deut. xviii. 18 was by no means confined to the Samaritans. On the other hand, it is equally certain that the identification of the prophet and the Messiah was not universal. The fact that the Baptist has already disclaimed being the Christ does not prevent "the priests and Levites" from asking the further question, "Art thou the prophet?" Perhaps it is not too much to infer that the people generally confounded the Messiah and the prophet, while the learned class made a distinction. This inference is rather confirmed than endangered by the two important passages, Mark vi. 14 f., and Matt. xvi. 23 ff. and pls. In the former passage, Herod says that Jesus is John the Baptist risen, others say that He is Elijah, and others that He is a prophet or one of the prophets—*i.e.*, of the same *sort* as the ancient prophets, but not one of them risen from the dead.² It might be supposed that Elijah and "the prophet" were, in the intention of the passage, to be considered identical; but the supposition is entirely gratuitous, as Elijah is always dis-

¹ John iv. 25.

² The word *or* in the last clause of Mark vi. 15 ought, according to the best reading, to be omitted. The expectation that Elijah or Enoch, who did not see death (2 Kings ii. 9 ff.; Gen. v. 24), or even Moses, of whose sepulchre no man knew (Deut. xxxiv. 6), might return from the other world was not unnatural. Still it may be questioned whether such an expectation would have arisen, even in regard to Elijah, apart from the prophecy in Mal. iv. 5 f. There is no evidence of it in relation to Enoch till after Christ (Schürer, ii. 2. 157 f.), and none at all in relation to Moses, though the Apocalypses which bear severally the names of Moses and Enoch abundantly testify the force of the impulse which the record of the deceases of those saints gave to Haggadic fancy. If, however, the expectation was cherished in the time of our Lord in relation to Jeremiah and some other of the prophets (Matt. xvi. 13 f.), it could hardly have failed to be entertained by some in relation to the greater name of Moses.

tinguished from the Messiah (being in fact His forerunner, Matt. xvii. 10 and pls.), whereas the prophet is sometimes distinguished, and sometimes identified. If the question is asked, why the evangelist—in view of the fact known to us from John vi. 14—does not add that *some say He is the prophet*, the answer is that the evangelist is manifestly concerned to notice the various *incorrect* views regarding Jesus. He excludes the view that He was the prophet, because, with the people, this was tantamount to saying that He was the Messiah. The same line of remark applies with greater force to the passage, Matt. xvi. 13 ff. and pls., for there the intention of the evangelist to enumerate only those popular verdicts, which did not amount to the opinion that He was the Messiah, is hardly open to doubt. It is to be observed that, in harmony with that intention, the verdict that Jesus is the prophet does not appear. It seems, therefore, to be at least roughly true that the case of the prophet, as regards the people and the learned, is inversely as the case of the Son of Man. The people identify the Messiah and the prophet, the learned distinguish them. The people distinguish the Messiah and the Son of Man, the learned identify them; and in regard to the latter point it seems a not improbable, if not strictly demonstrable, inference from the phenomena of the Gospels, that the learned purposely veiled this identification from the people as a counterblast to our Lord's persistent use of this popularly mysterious name.

Elijah the Forerunner of the Messiah: Another conception, prevalent among the scribes,¹ and propagated by them, was that

¹ Matt. xvii. 10 ff. and pls. In connection with this point we might perhaps infer from Mark's use of Mal. iii. 1 (Mark i. 2) that the scribes generally confounded (as Mark almost certainly did) the "messenger" (or "angel") of Mal. iii. 1 with "Elijah" of Mal. iv. 5. The fact that such an identification is not, so far as Malachi's text is concerned, exegetically permissible is no valid ground of objection, as combinations much more arbitrary than this are quite in the manner of Haggadic exegesis. More consideration, perhaps, is due to the objection that the elaborate angelology developed in the Apocalyptic literature must have accustomed the scribes to distinguish between an angel of Jehovah and even a glorified prophet who had not seen death. Both in the Old Testament and in the New the line

Elijah would precede the Messiah and prepare His way. This conception was based on Mal. iv. 5 f., and was accepted in a spiritualised sense by our Lord, who found the fulfilment of the prophecy about Elijah in the ministry of John the Baptist, and by those whom the third evangelist describes as "waiting for the consolation of Israel" (Luke i. 17; cp. ver. 6 and ii. 25).

B.—Conceptions that are Messianic in the Extended Sense

Apart from conceptions relating directly to the Messiah and His work, there are in the Gospels traces of those that are Messianic, in the extended sense in which that term is synonymous with eschatological. Thus there is the phrase—

Kingdom of Heaven (or of the Heavens), behind which there seems to be a more or less distinct current conception of various heavenly regions and things to come.¹ There can be little doubt that the scriptural groundwork of this conception is to be sought in the Book of Daniel, specially in ii. 44 and vii. 13 f. If we allow ourselves to suppose—and in view of the absence of the phrase from the other Gospels,² the supposition is reasonable—that Jesus, while using these terms, did not do so so habitually as Matthew represents, the proof that the phrase had for Jewish hearers

between angels and men is quite distinct (cp., e.g., the argument in Heb. i. 4 ff.). No Old Testament writer would have confounded the "angel of Jehovah" with a prophet, even though Jehovah might know the latter "face to face" (Deut. xxxiv. 10), and it was certainly not the fashion of post-canonical Jewish theology to make any figure more human than an angel, if even an angel, the medium of Jehovah's manifestation. If weight be given to this objection, we have probably another instance of the opposite manner of the scribes and the people. For where the scribes distinguished, the people (Mark's example being witness) in all likelihood identified, and, if the example of the Christian evangelist is to go for anything, the verdict of the people, while technically incorrect, was historically and spiritually justified. For after John the Baptist there remained to come neither "Elijah" nor "messenger of the covenant" other than One who, in the fullest sense, represented the Divine presence.

¹ Cp. 2 Cor. xii. 2.

² Mark, Luke, and John use the alternative phrase, *Kingdom of God*.

associations more distinct than those that were immediately attached to the synonym *Kingdom of God*, is strengthened. What these associations were in detail need not concern us; but we cannot doubt that the main idea was that of a kingdom coming to the godly from heaven, crushing the hostile kingdoms of the earth and establishing itself for ever.

The Inheritance on Earth: Over against the conception of the kingdom of heaven may be set that which evidently underlies the phrase "inherit the earth" (Matt. v. 5; cp. Ps. xxxvii. 9). This phrase also is of Old Testament origin, being but an echo from a sublimer region of the old promise to covenant-keeping Israelites that they should possess the land.¹ In Messianic sense, the phrase connects itself naturally with such eschatology as is described to us by Deutero-Isaiah² in the passage about the "new heaven and the new earth." If we regard the Daniel passages as the basis of the conception of the king-

¹ Cp., e.g., Deut. vi. 18.

² For there is really no trace of the Messianic king either in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. xl.-lxvi.) or in Daniel. The word *Messiah* in Dan. ix. 25 f. should in both places be translated "the Anointed." In ver. 24 the reference is to Cyrus, and in ver. 25 probably to the murdered high priest, Onias III. (Schürer, ii. 3. 53 f.). No doubt there are competent scholars who find the Messiah in both these authors—e.g., Riehm in Daniel, Dr. G. A. Smith in Deutero-Isaiah. Riehm's view of Dan. vii. 13, already noted (p. 118), may be dismissed with the word idiosyncrasy; but many will agree with Dr. G. A. Smith in an inability to dissociate the conception of the individual Messiah from some at least of the passages about the *Servant of Jehovah* in Deutero-Isaiah. The interests of the faith, however, may be conserved without violence to critical candour, if we find proof that the Divine promise pointed to an Individual, in the fact that even writers, whose historic limitations forbade them so to construe it, used, in spite of themselves, language which, taken by itself, could not but be understood in that way. In the passage in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. lxv. 17 ff.) about the new heavens and the new earth, it is obvious that the description is bounded by space and time conditions. The "new earth" is none other than Palestine, particularly Jerusalem and Mount Zion (vers. 18, 19, 25). What is promised is not eternal life, but a peaceful and prosperous longevity (vers. 20 ff.). An idealisation, however, of earthly bliss coming from such a voice as speaks in Isa. xl.-lxvi., was surely a vehicle not unworthy to convey to the lowly and reverent hearts in Israel the final and loftier promise.

dom of the heavens, and allow Deutero-Isaiah to do service for that of the new earth, we may, according to modern exegesis, find a warrant in the Bible itself for an assertion we know otherwise to be true, that both the kingdom of the heavens and the purified kingdom on earth were frequently conceived quite apart from the idea of an individual Messiah.¹ No doubt in our Lord's time the two conceptions of the kingdom and the king had come again to be associated, but, in view of the vague and fluctuating way in which, as the Gospels themselves testify, the Messiah was popularly conceived, we seem warranted in saying that it was only with such a man as John the Baptist that the association was inevitable. In fact, a due regard to what is implied in the Messianic teaching of the Baptist, yields the perception that an ethical conception of the kingdom, added to an urgent expectant endeavour to prepare men for it, could not but elicit the idea of the king, which it all along logically implied.² And, conversely, John's urgency arose largely from his persuasion that the Messiah was about to be made manifest, a persuasion quite apart from the result of any previous acquaintance he may have had with Jesus (John i. 31). On the other hand, it is on the same principles easily conceivable that the idea of the king should be but loosely held by the uncritical people, and it is patent from the Gospels that, owing to its association with visionary political hopes, its tenure was in their case valueless. The same remark applies—though in a somewhat different way—to the learned class as represented by the Pharisees. We have seen that they studiously avoided association with movements of political revolt, and there seems warrant in the Gospels themselves (esp. John xi. 48) for saying that one reason of their opposition to Jesus was their fear of being involved in a fanatical uprising against the Roman power. It would appear therefore that, so far as

¹ See Note 2, p. 126.

² Our Lord's words in Matt. xi. 11-13 (spec. ver. 12) and pls. clearly imply that it was John's peculiar power of *urgency* that made him "more than a prophet" (ver. 9)—more even than such a prophet as Deutero-Isaiah, whose words were so much in his mouth (cp. Mark i. 3; John i. 23).

ability to form a spiritual conception of the Messianic king was concerned, the Pharisees were on the same level with the people. One who assumed the title of king must in their view be a person with a political programme. A certain theoretical sincerity may be credited to their treatment of Jesus as a political adventurer, and probably there is truth in the view of Charles¹ that the bitter experience of the patriotic party, firstly in the degenerate submission of the Maccabæan dynasty to Sadducean influences, and, next, its extinction in favour of the Idumæan upstarts, had produced in Pharisaic circles the feeling that the kingship was an institution unfavourable to the theocracy, and that, in fact, under it the kingdom of the heavens would not come. This is not of course tantamount to saying that the Pharisees did not expect a Messiah. All that is actually implied is a view, of which there seems to be warrant otherwise, that the Pharisees transferred their expectation of the Messiah to a region which had few, if any, points of contact with the ordinary organisation of life. If we may assume that the horizon of Judaism in the time of our Lord is, in essential features, that reflected in the Mishnah, the general idea of the Pharisees was that the Messiah would appear, when Israel should be found keeping the law—a view of things which made it difficult to assign to the Messiah any more active function in relation to the members of His kingdom than that of expressing approval and distributing rewards.

The Judgment and the Resurrection: We may but touch here on the conceptions of judgment and resurrection that meet us in the Gospels and, in one form or another pervade, the New Testament. It is clear from the Gospels that our Lord discouraged mere speculation and needless dogmatism regarding the things to come. When He refers to these subjects in popular or parabolic discourse, His language is such as to engage directly the consciences of His hearers in view of a known past and present, and contains not even the suggestion of an answer as to the *how* and *when* of things that are to happen by the “power

¹ In his edition of the *Book of Enoch*, pp. 31, 114, and 258.

of God" and by His appointment.¹ And where He does seem, in private discourse with the disciples, to touch more directly on the great subject of the unknown, His language is mainly apocalyptic, veiling even while it seems to reveal. His gift to His contemporaries and to us is not so much an added *quantity* as an improved *quality* of knowledge. A frank recognition of this circumstance, and, in general, of the fact that the language of Jesus is vivid and popular, not abstract and theological, enables us to view with tranquillity the free use by Him of phrases implying, if taken strictly, representations which are hardly reconcilable with one another.

The "Resurrection of the Just": Thus, *e.g.*, in Luke xiv. 14, Jesus speaks of those who show hospitality to the needy as earning a reward at the "resurrection of the just." If we were not ourselves accustomed to another order of ideas, we should suppose this phrase to belong to an eschatological programme, in which either there was a resurrection for the righteous only, or a resurrection for them that was to be distinguished from another and more general resurrection. And as a matter of fact, even if our view were confined to the Old Testament, we should infer from Daniel xii. 2—the only Old Testament passage where the idea of a bodily resurrection distinctly appears—that, while the author speaks of some who rise to "everlasting contempt," the main motive of the passage is to convey the assurance that the deceased members of the godly remnant in Israel will not miss their share of bliss in the everlasting kingdom. It cannot therefore surprise us to learn from Josephus² that, according to one mode of representation, the risen life belonged

¹ *E.g.* Matt. xxii. 29; Acts i. 7; cp. Matt. xx. 23. See Appendix A.

² *Antiq.* xviii. i. 3; *Wars*, ii. 8. 14. The purpose which this tendency of later Judaism to emphasise the privileges of the faithful dead was capable of serving in Christian circles, is well illustrated by the Apostle Paul's argument of comfort to the mourners of Thessalonica (1 Thess. iv. 13 ff., esp. ver. 15), where stress is laid on the fact that those who are alive at the coming of the Lord shall enjoy no superior advantage to that of deceased believers.

to the righteous only, and the sole object of the resurrection was to enable them to participate in the Messianic kingdom.

Bliss Apart from Bodily Resurrection: If special argument were needed that our Lord's use of the phrase "resurrection of the just" did not imply the acceptance of the limited order of ideas to which, strictly speaking, it belonged, it might be found in His words to the dying malefactor:¹ "To-day shalt thou be with Me in paradise,"² which inevitably suggest the idea of a satisfying bliss available for a purely spiritual state.

The "Apocalypse of John": Finally, it may be considered relevant to our subject to notice that in the New Testament *Apocalypse of John*—a book that is in the nature of the case

¹ Luke xxiii. 43; cp. also Paul's argument in 2 Cor. v. 1 ff. (esp. vers. 6 and 8); and Phil. i. 21-23. The same view appears in our Lord's words to Martha (John xi. 25 ff.), where He dismisses Martha's reference to the resurrection at the last day by the reminder—(1) that the man who believed in Him would live even if he had died; and (2) that the man living and believing in Him would never die. The two modes of speech are hardly reconcilable if each is regarded as committing the Speaker to the whole order of ideas to which, taken by itself, it belongs. The very fact that Jesus uses the two modes of speech in one breath proves His possession of a logic of faith transcendently superior to a logic of the schools that externalises and so evacuates things that are inward and spiritual. His ruling conception is that of a life in Himself, to which the event of death is indifferent, whether that indifference be proved by a future resurrection or a present existence independent of ordinary physical conditions. As a matter of fact, eternal life is to be proved, according to our Lord and His apostles, in both ways.

² It is questioned whether the word "paradise" means a region in Hades reserved for the righteous (cp. Luke xvi. 22 ff.), where they await the resurrection, or a region in heaven. The latter seems the more probable, but the former has the advantage of suggesting an order of things in which immediate spiritual bliss and a future resurrection might obviously be reconciled. The decision of this question does not affect the main point, namely, that a condition of blessedness was promised to the dying malefactor in terms inevitably suggestive of the immediate future. Rightly or wrongly, Godet finds in the words of our Lord to Mary Magdalene, "Touch Me not," etc. (John xx. 17), a trace of an eschatological programme in which the resurrection had no place. He thinks it is partly our Lord's intention to warn His disciples against a view of the last things, which eliminated the resurrection and saw the promise of His ascension to the Father fulfilled in His death. (See his *Commentary on St. John's Gospel*, vol. iii. p. 312.)

almost as distinctly Jewish as it is Christian—the two modes of eschatological conception are combined, *i.e.* there is both a resurrection of the righteous to participation in a millennial earthly kingdom of the Messiah, and, at the close of the millennium, a general resurrection and a final judgment.¹

Problem of Foregoing Evidence: The evidence we have sought to extract, specially from the Gospels, regarding the Messianic conceptions prevalent in the time of our Lord, may, as regards its *positive* side, be summarily stated as follows:—(1) The expectation of a Messiah was widely prevalent throughout Palestine and the entire Jewish world. (2) The modes of conceiving His person and work were vague and various. (3) There is in particular some trace of difference in mode of conception as between the people and the learned class. (4) This difference is seen specially in the tendency of the learned to take an apocalyptic view of the appearing of the Messiah, although that tendency was not so clearly defined as to lead them to part altogether with the older ideas that He should be the Son of David, and should restore political supremacy to Israel. (5) As there is (according to (4)) an oscillation between an *earthly* and a *heavenly* conception of the Messiah's kingdom, so there is, in the attitude of the Pharisees to the royal pretensions of Jesus, at least the suggestion of an oscillation between a view of the last things in which the person and work of the Messiah are of main importance, and a view in which they are comparatively unimportant, or of vague importance. On the *negative* side it may be remarked specially:—(1) While the origin of the

¹ The book which closes the New Testament stands in essentially the same relation to it as the Book of Daniel does to the Old. Both belong to the Apocalyptic species of literature, both are evidently written for the comfort of suffering saints, and both under the veil of symbols (specially that of wild beasts) make references to contemporary tyrants that were doubtless unmistakable to their first readers; for, whatever difficulties these references may in detail constitute for us, there can be as little doubt that the New Testament Apocalypse refers to *Roman* tyrants as that the Old Testament points to *Syrian*. (Cp. esp. Dan. vii. and Rev. xiii., and for the two resurrections and judgment, Rev. xx., esp. vers. 4, 7, and 12.)

Messiah was generally regarded as mysterious, and He Himself conceived as endowed with extraordinary powers, there is no proof that His origin was conceived as strictly supernatural, or anything approaching to the Christian doctrine that Jesus was of one substance with the Father. (2) There is no proof, rather distinctly the contrary, that there prevailed with any section of the people, or even with the disciples of Jesus, the idea that the Messiah should suffer for the sins of His people.¹ It remains to ask whether we can find in the Messianic references of the Old Testament, and in those of the literature, so far as known to us, that belongs to the period between the Old Testament and the New, a satisfactory explanation of these phenomena. In view of the comparative obscurity of the books referred to, we may deal at greater length, than on its merits the subject might appear to warrant, with that part of our answer that relates to the post-canonical Jewish books,—in particular, those that have come down to us under the name of *Enoch*.

Although important evidence might be extracted from the Psalter, if only we could be certain of the respective dates of

¹ Cp. Matt. xvi. 22; Luke xviii. 34, xxiv. 20 f.; John xii. 34. The edifying comment of the fourth evangelist on the aphorism of Caiaphas, that one man should die for the nation, is, of course, no proof to the contrary. Witnesses to the Judaism that prevailed subsequently to New Testament times reveal the presence of the idea of a dying and a suffering Messiah, and even of the idea of a merit in the righteous Sufferer available for good to others. But the passages containing these ideas need only to be examined to see how slight are the points of contact with Christian doctrine. Thus in 4th Ezra vii. 28 ff.—a work belonging to the end of the first century A.D.—the Messiah is represented as dying, but He dies along with “all men that have life,” the event being a mere incident in an eschatological programme, which assigned to the Messiah no other function than that of living for four hundred years with the godly previous to a final judgment executed by Jehovah Himself. In a *Midrash* (homiletic commentary) of the second century A.D., Rabbi Joses, the Galilean, says that the Messiah has been made contemptible on account of the rebellious, and he quotes Isa. liii. Among certain circles there appeared the idea of suffering in atonement for sin, but it did not prevail; for the *Targum of Jonathan* (probably the fourth century A.D.), while admitting a reference to the Messiah in Isa. liii., carefully excludes from the scope of this reference just the most relevant passages.

the so-called king-psalms,¹ we may confine our notice of the canonical books to those writings of the prophets whose dates are comparatively certain. A study of the history of the Messianic idea as revealed in these books (and also in the subsequent and mostly extra-canonical literature) leads to the perception, that where circumstances have led Israel to attach a special significance to the official head of the nation, whether he be king or high priest, the hope of the Messianic king becomes distinct and prominent; while in circumstances of a contrary nature it tends to recede into dimness, or to have the importance only of an adjunct to a kingdom, into whose members Jehovah has put His own Spirit of righteousness, and of which He alone is King.² Looking to the canonical prophetic writings, we may say that on the whole the Messiah is prominent in the pre-Exilian and almost entirely absent from the post-Exilian writings. In regard to the former, the general progress seems to be as follows:—

The pre-Exilian Prophets: 1. *Amos and Hosea*: In Amos and Hosea (the earliest of the prophets whose writings have come down to us), with whom the most fateful fact is still the secession of the ten tribes, there is a preparation for the conception of the ideal king in the emphasis laid upon the Davidic dynasty. But it can hardly be said that the idea of a Messiah is definitely

¹ E.g. Psalms lxxii., xlv., cx. If we knew with certainty that Psalm cx. belonged to the Maccabean period, and was subsequent to the Book of Daniel, we should be able to find in the Old Testament itself a link in the chain connecting "one like unto a son of man" (Dan. vii. 13) with the individual Messiah of New Testament times. For we can easily understand how the experience of the victories of Judas Maccabæus might tend to revive the conception of a victorious priest-king. Unfortunately there seems to be no convincing reason why the psalm should be considered later than the time of Zech. iv. 11-14, with whose mode of conception it has manifest affinity.

² This formula, however, hardly covers the whole ground of the facts. In view of certain phenomena it would require to be supplemented to the effect, that in presence of circumstances (in particular a king or dynasty) suppressive of the better aspirations of the nation there was a not unnatural tendency to revivify the figure of the Messiah with a distinctness equal to that of the contrast between fact and ideal. An instance of this is given below (p. 144) in the case of the *Psalter of Solomon*.

entertained by them at all. The expression that comes nearest to it is to be found in Hosea iii. 5, where the prophet indicates that, after the disciplinary experience which he has described in the previous verses (especially vers. 3 and 4), there will ensue the latter days in which the scattered tribes of Israel will return (to Palestine) and seek Jehovah and David their king.¹

*2. Isaiah and Micah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.*²—But the conception of the ideal Davidic king, which hardly appears in Amos and Hosea, blossoms into distinctness in Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, and even Ezekiel. He enjoys special distinctness in the pages of Isaiah, whose ministry was at its midday splendour at the time when the piety of King Hezekiah saved Jerusalem from the Assyrian. Passages like Isaiah ix. 1-7, xi. 1-9, indicate the high-water mark of the Old Testament kingly ideal, and it is noticeable in connection with these passages, that the more the

¹ Probably all that is in the mind of the prophet is that the truest proof that the purpose of the divine discipline in relation to the northern kingdom has been served will be a disposition, on the part of the seceding tribes, to acknowledge the rightfulness of the Davidic dynasty, whose authority they had abjured. No doubt, in the phrase "seek Jehovah" it is the graver matter of idolatry that is in view, and not mere political revolt. On the other hand, the two things are, to the prophet, inseparably associated. Those who seek Jehovah will also seek David their king.

² Isa. ix. 6 f. (cp. vii. 14, viii. 8-10), xi. 1 ff.; Mic. v. 2; Jer. xxiii. 5 f.; Ezek. xxxiv. 23 f. If the author of Zechariah, chaps. ix.-xi., is to be considered pre-Exilian, Zec. ix. 9 will have to be added to the foregoing. A candid review of these and other passages cannot but lead to the perception that, while such expressions as those in Isa. ix. 6 f., taken by themselves, are capable of suggesting a Being who is actually divine, there is nothing to prove, and much even to disprove, the idea that the prophets of the pre-Exilian period regarded the coming Son of David as divine or even supernatural. Such a passage as Jer. xxxiii. 15 ff. (esp. vers. 15 and 17) proves that in the conception of Jeremiah at least the promise of Jehovah would be sufficiently fulfilled by a perpetual line of righteous kings of the seed of David. We seem almost able to mark the fading of the figure of the Messiah in passing from Isaiah to Jeremiah and Ezekiel. These prophets do not paint the Son of David in the glowing colours which detain the imagination of the reader of Isaiah. He is with them no more than a needful and promised deliverer, characterised by righteousness and warlike strength, who will indeed earn the loyal *obedience* (but nothing approaching to the *worship*) of the people, whose God is Jehovah.

emphasis is laid upon qualities of a moral and religious character, the loftier does the language become, and the more suggestive of an origin and presence such as belong only to Him who fulfilled the law and the prophets.

3. *The later pre-Exilian Prophets in general—Zephaniah*: If we are to regard the remarkable career of King Hezekiah as the historic occasion (not to say the cause) of the lively expectation of an ideal king that meets us in the pages of Isaiah, it can hardly be less certain that an experience of a contrary nature, connected with the names of subsequent kings, may be held in a similar degree responsible for the decline of this form of eschatological hope. Not even the reign of a good king like Josiah seems to have availed against the process of decay. It seems rather, in certain circumstances, to have had the contrary effect. For how otherwise shall we explain the total absence of the figure of the Messiah from the writings of Zephaniah¹ (who prophesied in the time of Josiah), than by saying that an experience of the comparatively meagre results attending the reforming efforts of even so good a king has tended rather to destroy than to increase the confidence with which the watchers of Israel can shape the hope of the nation in the form of an ideal earthly king who is to come? It would be a mistake, however, to regard this phenomenon as indicating a spiritual declension. Rather the reverse is true. No doubt Isaiah is to us a more inspiring figure than Jeremiah, for a prophet, who can be honestly a popular patriot, is more interesting than one whose patriotism pours itself out in lamentation; but if Isaiah had lived some seventy years later he would have spoken as Jeremiah. We are to see in the facts noted only the indication that the forms of patriotism are giving way to others better fitted to express a religious faith.

The post-Exilian Prophets: If we except Zechariah² and

¹ Zeph. iii. 13, 16 f. His conception is entirely that of a purified remnant (the godly in Israel) who shall do no iniquity, and of whom Jehovah is King.

² *i.e.* Zechariah, chaps. i.-viii. The relevant passages are Zech. iii. 8 ff., vi. 11 ff.; Hag. ii. 23. It is only in the light of the Zechariah passages that

Haggai only,—and for reasons noted below the exception is not so important as might appear,—we must admit that the conception of the Messianic King is absent from the post-Exilian prophets. The absence is most conspicuous in Deutero-Isaiah, albeit that in him—owing to the peculiar depth of his perceptions, in particular his remarkable presentation of the idea of vicarious suffering—the materials for his future revivifying are specially abundant. He is equally absent from Malachi, for in spite of the fact that, as according to the evangelists, his words about Elijah preparing the way of the Lord were fulfilled in the career of the Baptist, it is undeniable that Malachi has no suspicion of a Messiah coming behind Elijah, but has in view only an assize conducted by Jehovah Himself. It is strange that Riehm,¹ who so wisely restrains us from individualising—so far as the prophet's own intention is concerned—Deutero-Isaiah's “servant of Jehovah,” should insist on seeing the Messiah in Daniel's vision of “one like unto a son of man” coming in the clouds of heaven, although, as he well knows, such a view makes against the theory which requires that the Messiah should not be a figure of prophecy in a kingless time. When, however, he

we can regard the passage cited from Haggai as in any strict sense Messianic, and it is patent, from the references in both prophets (Hag. i. 14; Zech. iv. 6 ff. (esp. vers. 13 f.), and the *loc. cit.*), that the historic occasion for the revival of the figure of the Messiah was the importance of the parts played by Zerubbabel, the governor of Judah, and Joshua, the high priest, in the building of the second temple. The name *Branch*, which since Isa. xi. 1 seems gradually to have become the titular designation of the Promised One, is the strongest indication of the conception of an individual Messiah in the mind of Zechariah. But it is probable, in the light of iv. 14 and vi. 13, that the Branch, as an individual Messiah, originates, so far as Zechariah is concerned, only in what has been called a “dutiful literary reminiscence,” preserved from the time of the former prophets. The conception, which the circumstances of his time made really living for Zechariah, was not that of an individual ruler but of “*two* associated ones,” a priest and a king, sitting on co-ordinate thrones in perfect harmony of counsel. On the passage vi. 13 (where for “he shall be a priest,” etc., we should probably read, “a priest shall be on his throne”), cp. Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, 2nd ed., p. 199, footnote.

¹ *Messianic Prophecy*, 2nd ed., note on Dan. vii. 13, pp. 193 ff., note 3. See above, p. 118, note 1, of this Handbook.

remarks that Daniel's Messiah is not a natural product of the author's own time, but only "the result of an acquaintance with prophetic writings that have come to be regarded as holy scriptures," he indicates what is true in large measure—if not of Daniel or any canonical book—of the post-canonical scribal literature, with a brief notice of which, so far as it relates to the Messianic hope and reflects views prevailing amongst the Jews during the two centuries immediately preceding the birth of our Lord, we may close this Handbook. For reasons that will be obvious, special attention may be directed to the cycle of books that bear the name of Enoch.

The post-Canonical Messianic Literature, General Course of Development: Looking to the general course of the development of Messianic ideas during this period, we seem able to detect a progress through the two following stages : (1) A stage at which the figure of the Messiah is—if not dim, at least—void. He appears with due formality in the programme of the last things, but has really no part to play. (2) A stage at which His figure is wrought into a twofold distinctness on the one side, after the model of the former prophets ; on the other, after the apocalyptic model suggested by the Book of Daniel. To these two—although we shall not treat it separately from the latter—we might perhaps add (3) a stage, practically contemporaneous with our Lord, at which, partly through despair at the offence of the Herodian dynasty, and partly through the prevalence of a tendency, largely stimulated by that offence, to lose the historical conception of the Messiah entirely in the apocalyptic and so to regard His person and work as removed entirely from secular conditions, the expectation of the Messiah, while undoubtedly widespread, and even—so far as the people were concerned—lively, was yet in form ill-defined and fluctuating.¹

¹ Side by side with the apocalyptic tendency of Messianic ideas in strictly rabbinical circles in the time of our Lord ought to be mentioned the freer and more ethical mode of conception of the Jewish Alexandrine philosopher, Philo, the aim of whose writings was to persuade Gentiles to embrace

1. *The Jewish Sibyllines and Enoch, chaps. 83-90*: As illustrating the first stage, we may refer to two writings which, as they belong, according to the best authorities, in their oldest portions, to the Maccabæan period, cannot be very much later Judaism on grounds of pure reason, and who was the elder contemporary of our Lord (born *circa* 15 B.C.). Philo's main conception is that the heathen rulers of Israel will in the end become ashamed of trying to govern their superiors, and will voluntarily submit themselves to the saints (*i.e.* the true Israelites), whose rulers possess the three qualities of *semnotes*, *deinotes*, and *euergesia* (dignity, majesty, and beneficence), which produce the corresponding virtues of reverence, fear, and love. Clearly such a conception of the kingdom of the saints did not require a Messiah any more than that of the Book of Daniel, but it is an interesting proof of the strength of the popular idea of a Davidic warrior of supernatural powers that Philo is unable to deny it a place in his representation. This warrior is endowed with such extraordinary strength that he can subdue whole peoples. Obviously such a Messiah was as much a being of the clouds as the apocalyptic Messiah of rabbinism, and as alien to the spiritual needs of his subjects. It was a natural result of the exalted view which Christian theology took of the person of our Lord that post-Christian Judaism tended to resile from the apocalyptic view of the Messiah and to represent Him as a man born of men. It is to be remarked that the same sort of progress which we have noted above in the history of the idea of the Messiah is seen also in that of the Messianic (or eschatological) conceptions in general. Thus, while the older view, based on the early prophets, exhibited in the main only the attributes of a purified and prosperous earthly kingdom conceived on Jewish national lines, in the later view the nation is extended to the world, and in proportion as the kingdom is conceived as an object of hope for individuals, who participate in its bliss through resurrection from the dead, the tendency to relegate the whole scenery of the '*Olam Habba*' (the age-to-come) to supramundane regions becomes more pronounced. With this later view that of the Messiah did not keep pace. In the older view (and even in that naturally taken by New Testament writers, cp. Heb. i. 2), the age-to-come and the Messianic age coincide; but when the Messianic kingdom had been both in the prophetic apocalypse and the scribal theology transferred to a supramundane region, it was natural, in view of the tendency to oppose Christian supernaturalism in relation to the person of the Messiah, that post-Christian Judaism should conceive of the Messiah's reign as temporal and of the age-to-come as commencing only after its close. Thus in 4th Ezra vii. 28 ff. (the 2 Esdras of the *Apocrypha*) the Messiah rejoices with the remnant of the godly for 400 years, and then dies with "all men that have life." After seven days of silence comes the general resurrection, which inaugurates the last age. 4th Ezra cannot be earlier than the closing decades of the first century A.D., but Rev. xx. 4 proves that some, at least, of the features of this programme must have been current among the earliest Christian circles.

than Daniel, and are evidently (the latter in particular) influenced by that book. The one is the cycle of *Jewish Sibyllines*,¹ the third book of which is assigned by Schürer to 140 B.C. The other is the *Book of Enoch*, chaps. 83-90 of which are confidently assigned by Charles, the latest English editor of the Enoch-cycle, to about the year 161 B.C. The only passage in the former book that makes distinct allusion to the Messiah consists of the five lines (652-656) beginning with the words : "God shall send *from the sun* (*ap' Eēlioio*) a king who shall give the whole earth rest from evil war." There can be no reasonable doubt that the *sun* is simply a poetic synonym for the *east*, and is not, as both Riehni and Westcott (who are biassed by their Messianic interpretation of Daniel vii. 13) would have us suppose, to be taken literally, or used as a proof that the author took an apocalyptic view of the origin of the Messiah. We are to see simply the hand of a Hellenistic—probably an Alexandrian—Jew, who wishes to establish among the Jews of the dispersion the faith that the universal conqueror is to come from the direction of the holy land and city. What has to be noted is that the five lines describing the conqueror are the preface of a long passage, of which the main idea closely resembles that of the kingdom of the saints in Daniel (*i.e.* those who observe the law and induce others to observe it). This idea is combined with that of a universal kingdom established by conquest and having its centre at Jerusalem with (presumably) the Messiah as its head. But one is struck with the want of coherence between this conception of the conquering king and the main idea of the kingdom of the saints. It seems therefore fair to say that the Messiah is here a mere figure-head, whose presence is not a natural product of the author's own mode of thought but is simply the homage he pays to the testimony of the former prophets. Practically the same thing is true of the Messiah of *Enoch*, chaps. lxxxiii.-xc., who appears at the close of the book under the image of a white bull, after-

¹ Poems written in Greek hexameter by Hellenist Jews in the style of the Sibylline books of ancient Rome.

wards transformed, by way of greater distinction, into a buffalo. He is simply a prominent member of the community of saints, who are represented as sheep. He does not appear until "all the beasts and birds of the heaven" (*i.e.* all the opposing heathen) "have fled before their face." Until the Messiah appears the representation follows closely Daniel's conception of the saints of the Most High, only that the resurrection precedes—instead of succeeding—the judgment. Corresponding to one like a son of man coming in the clouds is not the Messiah, but "a new house greater and loftier than the first" (xc. 29), *i.e.* a new Jerusalem which the "Lord of the sheep" (Jehovah) brought. The sheep fill the house to overflowing, and among them is the Messiah. After the resurrection and the judgment, Enoch saw that a white bull was born with large horns, and all the "beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time. And I saw till all their different kinds were transformed, and they all became white oxen, and the first among them became the buffalo, and that buffalo became a great animal, and had great black horns in its head, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over them and over all the oxen" (xc. 37 ff.). Such a merely formal conception of the Messiah is not unsuitable in an author who closely follows Daniel, and who, though he introduces the Messiah, has certainly not confounded Him with the symbolic figure of one like unto a son of man. If we follow Charles in dating Enoch, chaps. lxxxiii.—xc., at the beginning of the Maccabæan period, we can have little scruple in finding with him the explanation of the absence of a living conception of the Messiah, in the fact that at the time the book was written the godly recognised their appointed saviour in Judas Maccabæus, and believed that the kingdom of the saints was coming with him. Within such a horizon there was really no place for the Messiah. His presence is simply a galvanised memory.¹

¹ The *Book of Enoch* must have been known in some form and held in repute in the earliest times of the Christian Church, for a quotation from it

2. *The Psalter of Solomon* and the *Book of Similitudes*: Very different from this was the historical atmosphere of about 120

occurs in Jude 14 f. (cp. Enoch i. 9, v. 4, xxvii. 2). It was well known to the Fathers, and references to it occur in Christian writings down to the time of the Byzantine chronicler Syncellus in the ninth century. From this time nothing more was heard of the book until last century, when in 1773 the English traveller Bruce brought three MSS. of it in Ethiopic from Abyssinia. The book is known to us through the Ethiopic version (seventeen MSS. of which are extant) and through fragments of a Greek version (some of which were discovered quite recently in Cairo), but there can be little doubt that it was written originally in Hebrew. English translations have been published by Lawrence (1821) and by Schodde of Andover (1882), but both their works and those of the Germans, Hoffmann and Dillmann, have been superseded by the critical edition of R. H. Charles (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1893). Since Ewald's time the composite character of the work has been generally recognised, though serious difference of opinion still exists as to the dates of the several books, most of all regarding the date of the *Book of Similitudes* (chaps. xxxvii.-lxx.). The discussion of the latter point has an important bearing on the question whether or not we can explain what seems the incontrovertible fact that a usage of our Lord's day (prevalent at least, as we have contended, among the learned) gave the title Son of Man to the Messiah. As will be seen above, this title is, with other suggestive accompaniments, applied to the Messiah in the *Book of Similitudes*. Till recently the prevailing verdict of scholars was that the greater part of the *Similitudes* was of pre-Christian origin, but that all the references to the Son of Man were Christian interpolation, and this hypothesis seemed the more probable that the book undoubtedly abounds in interpolations of another kind. A keener scrutiny of the facts, however, makes it probable that, so far as the Messianic passages are concerned, the book is a seamless garment, whereas the interpolations, supposed to be on the same footing with them, are, with unimportant exceptions, of a uniform character, fragments of a lost *Apocalypse of Noah*, and interrupt the sequence of the text in a way that is obvious to every reader. The point, then, to be determined is: Is the book, *minus* the Noachian fragments, of Jewish or of Christian origin? If we incline to the latter view, we have to meet the twofold difficulty: (i.) That the Jewish stamp of the book is so unmistakable that, apart from the Messianic passages, the idea of any other than a Jewish origin could not have occurred, and yet these Messianic passages seem woven into the heart of the work. (ii.) If a Christian writer went out of his way to write a Jewish apocalypse, the motive must have been to prove that Jesus was the Messiah. Is it likely that in that case the figure of the Son of Man should be so wholly without point of contact with the historical Jesus? Would there not, e.g., have been some attempt to insinuate the idea that the Messiah would suffer and die for His people? A literary fraud at once so clever and so futile would certainly need strong proof. Not less impossible is it to suppose that the

years later, which favoured the production of two works that can hardly be far removed from each other in date, and that serve to illustrate in its two forms the second stage of the process of

book originated within post-Christian Judaism, for—(i.) the tendency of post-Christian Judaism was to insist—as against Christian teaching—that the Messiah would be a man born of men (witness the Jew in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue*); and (ii.) how could a book, Jewish (and therefore anti-Christian) in origin and conception, have been so entirely captured by the Christian Church as to have disappeared from the line of distinctively Jewish traditions? The writer of this Handbook, who had at first read only arguments in favour of the Christian origin of the Messianic passages, became convinced, after reading the book in Charles's translation, that the balance of probability, the Noachian fragments apart, lay strongly in favour of the pre-Christian origin of the entire book. For (i.) the book was Jewish and yet not controversial. (ii.) It was the work of one hand. (iii.) The objection to its pre-Christian origin seemed to be largely due to a confusion between the known tendency of Jewish theology in relation to the person of the Messiah after the time of Christ, and what may reasonably be supposed to have been its tendency in the period between the Book of Daniel and New Testament times. Surely it is obvious that we must make room in that interval for a movement back to the conception of an individual Messiah by way of those conceptions—individual (though only in *form*) in proportion as they were spiritual in character—with which Deutero-Isaiah and Daniel had made the Jews familiar. The main influence exerted upon the author of Enoch is evidently that of the Book of Daniel. Is it then so unlikely that a pre-Christian author, with Daniel vii. 13 ff. before him, and an impulse to faith in a coming *One*, that was rooted in veneration for the former prophets, and was strongly excited by protest against the tyranny of unlawful rulers, whether the later Maccabæans (Charles) or the Herodian upstarts (Schürer), should have delineated the figure of the Messiah in the lines of the supernatural and pre-existent Son of Man, who meets us in the *Similitudes*? (iv.) Finally—and this the point of main interest—the supposition of the pre-Christian origin of the *Similitudes* offers an explanation—otherwise wanting—of the presence of the phrase Son of Man in the Gospels, and indeed of much else in the eschatological vocabulary of the New Testament (see the list given by Charles, pp. 42-49, of the passages (upwards of 100 in number) "which, either in phraseology or idea, directly depend on or are illustrative of passages in Enoch"). The present writer was not unnaturally confirmed in these conclusions when he found that Schürer, who cautiously refuses to find *certain* proof anywhere of a pre-Christian doctrine of a pre-existent Messiah, yet concedes that "the view of the Messiah presented in the book [*i.e.* the *Similitudes*] is perfectly explicable on Jewish grounds. To account for such a view, it is not necessary to assume that it was due to Christian influences. Nothing of a specifically Christian character is to be met with in any part of this section" (ii. 3. 68).

Messianic development which we are considering — viz., the so called *Psalter of Solomon* and the *Book of Similitudes* in the Enoch cycle (*i.e.* Enoch, chaps. xxxvii.—lxx.). The date of the editing of the former, and probably of the entire contents of the book, cannot be earlier than 48 B.C., for one of the Psalms (ii. 31) contains a quite unmistakable allusion to the assassination of Pompey on the shores of Egypt after the battle of Pharsalia. As to the date of the latter, Charles's arguments leave it uncertain whether we are not to go back about thirty or even fifty years (79 B.C.—94 B.C.). His arguments¹ do not seem absolutely convincing, but the fact that it is immaterial to our present purpose whether the necessarily veiled historical references of the book point to the later Maccabæan princes or to the Herodian upstarts may exempt us from the duty of discussing them here. What we regard as fairly well ascertained, on grounds given partly below (footnote), is that *the book is of purely Jewish and pre-Christian origin*. *À priori* the latter date (*i.e.* subsequent to 37 B.C.) seems the more probable, as a neo-apocalyptic construction of the Messiah would naturally succeed a neo-prophetic, and not *vice versa*. For our present purpose it will be sufficient to speak of the two writings as if they were contemporaneous and subsequent to 48 B.C. The nation has behind it the reigns of the two Hellenising Maccabæans, Hyrcanus I. and Alexander Jannæus. The kingdom is divided between the rival factions of the sons of the latter Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The former had been favoured by the Pharisees, but his installation is dearly purchased by the licence in intrigue conceded to the crafty Idumæan adventurer Antipater, the bloody intervention of the Romans, and the desecration of the temple by Pompey. As a natural result, the godly lose all confidence in the Maccabæan

¹ Particularly the stress he lays upon the absence of reference to the Romans, from which he infers that the date must be anterior to their appearance in Palestine. Those who date the book at the time of Herod the Great may fairly reply to this, that at that time the Jews had more to fear from the Parthians (who are distinctly alluded to) than from the Romans.

dynasty and fall back upon the ideals of the Messiah and His kingdom left with them in the prophetic and apocalyptic literature of the Canon. The *Psalter of Solomon* is a monument of the neo-prophetic construction. The position of the author is that the Gentile invasions are the chastisement of Israel's defections. He attacks specially the Sadducees, and the head and front of their offence is the toleration of a dynasty (the Maccabæan) that has no root in David. Thus in Psalm xvii. 5 ff. we read—

“Thou, Lord, didst choose David to be king over Israel ;
 And in our sins there have risen upon us sinful men.
 They set upon us and thrust us out,—
 They to whom Thou didst not promise robbed with force ;
 But Thou, Lord, shalt cast them down,
 When there rises upon them a man foreign to our race.”

The man “foreign to our race” can hardly be other than Pompey. Further down in the same psalm (vers. 23–51) there is an elaborate description, entirely after the model of Isaiah and the king-psalms (*e.g.* lxxii., xlvi., cx.), of the true Davidic king, who is not superhuman in the metaphysical sense, but on whom the psalmist confidently invokes a practically superhuman inspiration of wisdom, zeal, and purity, enabling him to gather and shepherd a holy people and to destroy lawless nations by the word of his mouth.¹

¹ The *Psalter of Solomon* contains eighteen psalms. In some early books, containing a list of the contents of the Christian canon, they are mentioned as *antilegomena* (*i.e.* writings whose canonical position is disputed), along with the Books of *Maccabees*, *Tobit*, etc.; in others as *apocrypha*, along with *Enoch*, *4th Ezra*, etc. Ps. xvii. 41 ff. dwells on the sinlessness of the Messiah in the legal sense, a circumstance that indicates clearly enough the Pharisaic leanings of the author, although possibly his plain denunciations of the Maccabæan dynasty met with hearty response only among the extreme members of the party afterwards distinguished as *Zealots*. The prudent abstinence of the bulk of the Pharisaic party from every movement that had the semblance of political revolt probably inclined them rather to the apocalyptic view of the Messiah as represented in the Enochian *Book of Similitudes*. At the same time we have seen reason to think that this inclination was veiled from the people, and as a matter of fact they could not but, under interrogation, profess adherence to the popular view that the Messiah was the son of David (Matt. xxii. 42 ff. and pls.). Books like the *Apocalypse of Baruch* and *4th Ezra*,

Although the *Psalter of Solomon* is probably the latest pre-Christian writing in which the figure of the Messiah, originating with the former prophets, and still the most prevalent in the time of our Lord, is clearly drawn, it is, for reasons already in part noted, much inferior in interest to the Enochian *Book of Similitudes* (Enoch, chaps. xxxvii.-lxx.). Those who feel with us that the evidence of the pre-Christian origin of this book is almost irresistible, will be easily convinced, by the thirteen parallels¹ which Charles has drawn between the *Similitudes* and the Gospels, that the contents of this book—not to speak of others in the Enoch-cycle—were known to our Lord, and that many of its conceptions and phrases were honoured by Him in the way of affording a basis of eschatological exposition to His disciples, and even to the multitude. The contacts of the New Testament writers with the Enoch-cycle generally are numerous and in-

which were written late enough (after 70 A.D.) to indicate some trace of antagonism to Christian theology, naturally revert to a more human conception of the Messiah than that of the earlier Apocalypses, with which they have less affinity than with the *Psalter of Solomon*. In illustration of this, the close correspondence between Ps. xi. and Apoc. of Bar. v. deserves to be noted. For the determined opponents of our Lord, His special consecration at the critical moment of His trial of the apocalypses of Daniel and Enoch must soon afterwards have seemed sufficient reason for seeking the materials of hope elsewhere than in these books. Perhaps we may find in this the explanation of the curious fact, that after the first century A.D. rabbinical literature discovers hardly a trace of the Book of Enoch, whereas Christian literature, from the New Testament itself down to the writings of the eighth century, abounds in echoes of it.

¹ Some of the more interesting of these parallels may be mentioned: John v. 22 with Enoch Ixix. 27, which runs, "The sum of judgment was committed unto Him the Son of Man"; Luke ix. 35 with Enoch xl. 5, "The 'Elect One' as the name of the Messiah"; Luke xvi. 9, whose "Mammon of unrighteousness" is found in Enoch Ixiii. 10; Matt. xix. 28 with Enoch lxii. 5, "When they see the Son of Man sitting on the throne of His glory"; Matt. xxv. 41 with Enoch liv. 5, "Chains prepared for the hosts of Azazel." The parallels with the other books of the New Testament, esp. the Epistles of Peter, Jude, the later Pauline Epistles and the Revelation, are not less striking. There seems, in fact, hardly a phrase of New Testament eschatology that has not its close equivalent—in many cases its source—either in the *Book of Similitudes* or some other of the Enoch-cycle.

dubitable,¹ and, as is now generally known, Jude 14 f. is a direct quotation not indeed from the *Similitudes*, but from the book represented by Enoch, chaps. i.-xxxvi. Of the peculiarities of the *Similitudes*, the greatest interest belongs naturally to the conceptions and phrases bearing directly on the person of the Messiah,² and of these the most significant and original are the conception of the Messiah's pre-existence and the title *Son of Man*. The passage of special importance begins at chap. xlvi. The author's debt to the Book of Daniel is obvious; but there are portions of his representation (not least his transference of "one like unto a³ son of man" from the region of symbolism to that of living personality under the title "*The Son of Man*") where his debt must be owed elsewhere if not simply to himself.

¹ Charles gives upwards of 100. Apart from those relating directly to the Messiah, the most striking, perhaps, are those relating to the weird subject of demonology, e.g., the fallen angels and their punishment, cp. Jude 6 and 2 Pet. ii. 4 with Enoch, chaps. vi.-xvi.; the functions of Satan as tempter, accuser, and punisher, Matt. iv. 1 ff.; Rev. xii. 10; 1 Cor. v. 5, with Enoch lxix. 4 ff., xl. 7, liii. 3, lvi. 1.

² Besides *Son of Man* there are three other titles of the Messiah, which (on Charles's supposition that the *Similitudes* is earlier than the *Psalter of Solomon*) may be said to occur for the first time in a *directly* Messianic sense in this book: (1) The first is no less than the title *Messiah* (Christ Anointed) itself, which, while occurring frequently in the Old Testament, specially the Psalms, seems never to be applied to a *merely* ideal personality, but is always used in reference to an existing high priest or king (however idealised), or else to Israel collectively (Ps. cv. 15), cp. Enoch xlviii. 10, lli. 4. (2) *The Righteous One*, Enoch xxxviii. 2, liii. 6, xlvi. 3; cp. Acts iii. 14, vii. 52, xxii. 14; 1 John ii. 1. (3) *The Elect One*, Enoch xl. 5, xlv. 3 f., xlix. 2, 4, li. 3, 5; cp. Luke ix. 35, xxiii. 35. In regard to all these titles, it is still more obvious than it is in the case of the Son of Man that, given the revival of the expectation of the Messiah, there was only a minimum of originality in applying to Him titles that lay almost ready to hand in Old Testament passages, which were either actually Messianic in the intention of the particular author (e.g. the *Branch* of righteousness in Jer. xxxiii. 15), or had come to be construed as directly Messianic probably as early as the time when the *Similitudes* were written (e.g. Ps. ii. 2 (the *Christ*), Isa. xlii. 1 (the *Elect One*)).

³ For there is no definite article in Dan. vii. 13, a fact which the framers of our English A.V., to whom the Messianic rendering of the passage was matter of course, quite innocently ignored. The error is amended in the R.V.

One sat, who had “a head of days white as wool,” and beside him was another, whose countenance had the appearance of a man, and His face was full of graciousness like one of the holy angels. “And I asked the angel who went with me, and showed me all the hidden things concerning that Son of Man, who He was. . . . And he answered, ‘This is the Son of Man, who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the *Lord of Spirits*¹ hath chosen Him, and His lot before the Lord of Spirits hath surpassed everything in righteousness.’” Then follows a description of the judgment which this Son of Man, elsewhere (lxii. 2) represented as sitting on the throne of God, executes upon the nations, and especially the kings,² who deny the Lord of Righteousness, and shed the blood of the righteous. After this Enoch sees fountains of righteousness and wisdom, at which the thirsty drank and had their dwellings with the righteous and holy and elect. “And at that time the Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and before the Head of days, and *before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of the heaven were made, His name was named before the Lord of Spirits*” (xlviii. 2 f.). After mentioning that He will be a staff to the righteous, a light to the Gentiles, and worshipped by all who dwell on earth, it is added (ver. 6): “And for this reason has He been chosen and hidden before Him before the creation of the world and *for evermore*”—a representation which surely, if need were, sheds light on John vii. 27.

Those who have read *most* in the extra-canonical Jewish literature (in particular the merely legal and the apocalyptic portions) will probably agree most cordially with the verdict, which with but the slightest direct acquaintance with it we still venture to pass upon it, that it has on the whole little interest for the biblical student, and still less for the general public. But

¹ Original title of Jehovah.

² Either the later Maccabæan kings or the Herods, according to our view of the date of the book.

if our opinion regarding the date of the *Similitudes* is correct, some sort of exception will have to be made in its favour, as well as in that of other portions of the Enoch-cycle. For not only is it undeniable that the conception of the Messiah which the author presents is sublime and awe-inspiring, as well as (so far as it goes) ethical, but it is obvious, in connection with that conception, and the accompanying title Son of Man, that the book offers a bridge of connection between the Messianic ideas of Old and those of New Testament times—a bridge which, however unnecessary to “Him who had been named before the Lord of Spirits, before the stars of the heaven were made,” could hardly have been unnecessary to His contemporaries, whether critical scribes or attached disciples. No doubt many (perhaps most) of the rails of this bridge of connection are unimportant (conveying phrases that appeal only remotely to our moral nature), but this can hardly be said of the rail that carries the figure of the Son of Man. For that Figure, as He appears in the *Similitudes*,—however barren of interest He may seem when you put Him side by side with the holy living personality who meets us in the Gospels,—was undoubtedly one which probably from His early days had held the imagination of Him who, though He might not have learnt the letters of scribal pedantry,¹ yet loved the characteristic Scriptures of His nation, and was not ashamed to be called the King of the Jews. Those who are staggered by the idea that our Lord should have been in any sense indebted to a book that was not included in the canon of those Scriptures, which He said testified of Him,² may suitably consider (1) that it is not so much the equipment of our Lord’s mind that is here in view, as a mode of expression that should be in some degree intelligible to His contemporaries ; and (2) that, as His actual words in Matthew xxvi. 64, Mark xiv. 62, refer us rather to the Book of Daniel than to the Book of Enoch, no stamp of authority is put by Him on the latter book ; but, on the contrary, it is strongly suggested that, from our Lord’s point of

¹ Cp. John. vii. 15.

² John v. 39.

view, no link of connection was necessary between the individual Messiah, who lived in Himself, and the symbolic figure of Daniel's vision. More important than either of these considerations, moreover, is the fact that the conception of the Son of Man impersonated by our Lord, is in respect of depth and tenderness far removed indeed from that of the Book of Enoch. If, without dishonour to His holy originality, and with intent rather to prove His equally holy grace in coming as near as possible to the thought of His people, we ask what was the historic antecedent of the idea of the Son of Man, that lives for us in the words and deeds of Jesus of Nazareth, no better answer can perhaps be given than that contained in the precise words of Charles:¹ "The true interpretation will be found, if we start with the conception as found in Enoch, and trace its enlargement and essential transformation in the usage of our Lord. In this transformation, it is reconciled to, and takes ever into itself, its apparent antithesis, the conception of the *Servant of Jehovah* [as in Deutero-Isaiah], while it betrays occasional reminiscences of Daniel vii., the ultimate source of this designation." On this view the originality of our Lord lay in reconciling two conceptions of the Messiah, or rather of what constituted the peculiar character of the Messianic kingdom, which lie side by side in the Old Testament without a complete bond of union. The one is the conception of lowliness and vicarious victorious suffering, which we associate so inseparably with Isaiah liii.; the other is that of unparalleled exaltation and power, as that of One coming, like the Figure of Daniel vii., in the clouds with the entire host of heaven in retinue. It is noticeable that, while the language both in Deutero-Isaiah and Daniel is such as to suggest an Individual, it is as certain as any fact of exegesis can be that neither of the authors themselves intended to portray a coming *One*. The proof that all human suffering and all divine power could be combined in one Person, and the definition of who the Person should be in origin and in dignity, waited the

¹ *The Book of Enoch*, p. 314.

advent of that Son of Man, who was at once Servant and Lord, and who declared, as in one breath, both of word and life, that He had not where to lay His head, yet that all judgment had been given to Him, that He came to give His life a ransom for many, yet would come in glory in the clouds of heaven. The highest purpose will have been served by such studies as those which have engaged us in this Handbook, if they tend to show us that while the history of the world, and especially of His own people, both in politics and religious ideas, indicates a preparation for the coming of the Messiah, even the loftiest elements in the conception of the Messianic Personage, to which the preparation led, fall far below the reality. Deutero-Isaiah's figure of the *Servant of the Lord*, and Daniel's figure of the *Man of the Clouds*, has each its own impressiveness ; but He who fulfils the prophecies and unites the characteristics contained in these conceptions, touches us still, as He touched His contemporaries, with a power all His own. And just as we should refuse to give to another the honour that is due to Him alone, so we find it easy to understand how evangelists and apostles may have shrunk from referring to Him under a title (" Son of Man ") that was His own peculiar form of self-designation. It is something to see with a new distinctness that we can bring nothing lastingly true and good to the Christ of God that has not been His from the beginning in the council of the Father and the Son ; or which He does not, in assuming, transfigure. As we see Him leading the life of His people, quoting their sacred Scriptures, free alike from the contamination of their sins and the tangle of their errors, we are lifted with the favoured disciples to a region above the world, and yet not away from it, where we see no man but Jesus only, and learn from His own lips the meaning of His own Messianic name—the Son of Man.

APPENDIX

THE FEASTS¹ OF THE JEWS AS NOTICED IN THE GOSPELS AND ACTS

The Feast of the Dedication:² As no less than three, and possibly four,³ of the feasts of the Jewish Calendar are referred

¹ See table next page.

² Gr. *Ta Enkatnia* (*katnos* = new). The idea is that of *initiation* in the sense of *consecration*. The word is used only by biblical and ecclesiastical writers. In the LXX. it appears in Neh. xii. 27 as the equivalent of the Heb. *Chānukkah* (A.V. "dedication"), which is the name used for the feast in the Talmud.

³ If the feast referred to in John v. 1 is, as the reading of the majority of MSS. ("a feast" for "the feast") makes possible, the Feast of Purim. If the reading "the feast," which is supported by eight of the principal MSS., were adopted, the reference could only be to the Passover; but it is strange in that case that John should not have followed his usual practice (ii. 13, vi. 4, xi. 55), and added the name Passover. If we read "a feast," it is hardly likely, in view of the marked symbolic importance which the Passover has in John's Gospel (i. 29, xix. 36), in view, in particular, of his careful notification of the fact (see below on **Passover**) that the death of Jesus, the true Passover Lamb, coincided in point of date with the slaughter of the typical Paschal victim (xiii. 1, xviii. 28, xix. 14, 31, 42), that that feast can be meant. But if not the Passover, it can hardly be other—in view of the indications of time at iv. 35 (December) and vi. 4 (April)—than a feast falling somewhere between the first half of December and the first half of April. If we suppose the date indicated at iv. 35 to be far on in December, the only feast available is the *Purim*, which fell in March, just a month before the Passover. Apart from the objection that Jesus is not likely to have in any way countenanced a feast which had somewhat Bacchanalian accompaniments, and was associated so exclusively with the Haggadic Book of Esther (Esth. iii. 7, ix. 21-24), it seems strange that He should have gone up to Jerusalem within a few weeks of the Passover, and yet not have remained to that feast (vi. 4). In view of the facts that iv. 25 suits rather the earlier than the latter part of December, that Jesus remained only two days (iv. 43) with the Samaritans, and that there is nothing in what is related in iv. 45-54 that requires us to suppose an interval of more than two or three days, there seems nothing to hinder us from supposing that the feast may have been that of the Dedication, which happened late in December, and which (x. 22) does seem to have been countenanced by Jesus. The difficulty of supposing that Jesus returned to Judaea within a month (iv. 3) is not greater than that of supposing that He journeyed to Jerusalem and returned to Galilee within the month previous to the Passover. If we read "the feast," and understand the Passover (and the MSS. evidence can hardly be said to forbid our doing so), we must, considering that John mentions three other Passovers (ii. 13, vi. 4, xi. 55), conclude that the ministry of Jesus covered a period of over three years.

to in the Gospels, and as one of them, the Passover, has an intimate connection, as regards both form and significance, with the

The following table, reprinted, with the kind permission of the proprietors of the *Oxford Bible for Teachers*, from the *Oxford Helps to the Study of the Bible* (p. 153), offers a useful commentary to the text of this Appendix—

THE JEWISH CALENDAR.				
YEAR.	MONTH.	ENGLISH MONTH (nearly).	FESTIVALS.	SEASONS AND PRODUCTIONS.
Sacred. Civil. I. 7.	ABIB, or NISAN. (Green ears.) Days 30. Ex. xii. 2. 1 Kin. vi. 1.	April.	14. The Passover (Ex. xii. 1-51, xiii. 3-10). 16. Firstfruits of Barley harvest presented (Lev. xxii. 10-12).	
II. 8.	ZIF. (Blossom.) Days 29. 1 Kin. vi. 1.	May.	14. Second Passover, for those who could not keep the first (Num. ix. 10, 11).	
III. 9.	SIVAN. Days 30 Esth. viii. 9	June.	6. Pentecost, or Harvest, or Feast of Weeks. Firstfruits of Wheat harvest (Lev. xxii. 17-20), and Firstfruits of all the ground (Ex. xxii. 19; Deut. xxvi. 2, 10).	HARVEST. Wheat harvest. Summer begins. No rain from April to Sept. (1 Sam. xii. 17).
IV. 10.	THAMMUZ. Days 29. Zech. viii. 19.	July.		Heat increases.
V. 11.	AB. Days 30. Ezra vii. 9.	Aug.		HOT SEASON. The streams dry up. Heat intense. Vintage (Lev. xxvi. 5).
VI. 12.	ELUL. Days 29. Neh. vi. 15.	Sept.		Heat still intense (2 Kin. iv. 8-20). Grape harvest general (Num. xiii. 23).
VII. 1.	TISSRI, or ETHANIM. Days 30. 1 Kin. viii. 2. 2 Chr. v. 3.	Oct.	1. Feast of Trumpets (Num. xxix. 1). 10. Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi.). 15. Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxii. 34). Firstfruits of Wine and Oil (Deut. xvi. 13).	
VIII. 2.	BUL. (Rain.) Days 29. 1 Kin. vi. 38.	Nov.		SEED TIME. Former or early rains begin (Joel ii. 23). Ploughing and sowing begin. Rain continues. Wheat and barley sown. Vintage in N. Palestine.
X. 3.	CHISLEU. Days 30. Neh. i. 1.	Dec.	25. Feast of Dedication (1 Macc. iv. 52-59; John x. 22, 23).	WINTER. Winter begins. Snow on the mountains.
X. 4.	TEBETH. Days 29. Esth. ii. 16.	Jan.		Coldest month. Hail, snow (Josh. x. 11).
XI. 5.	SHEBAT. Days 30. Zech. i. 7.	Feb.		Weather gradually be- comes warmer.
XII. 6.	ADAR. Days 29. Esth. iii. 7. Esth. ix. 27.	March.	14, 15. Feast of Purim (Esth. iii. 7, ix. 21-24).	COLD SEASON. Thunder and hail fre- quent. Almond tree blossoms.

supper instituted by Jesus on the night on which He was betrayed, we may add here an Appendix on the three principal feasts—Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles—a subject omitted from the regular text of this Handbook only from fear of lack of space. We may begin with the less important, and before speaking of the three major feasts may refer to the one other—the Dedication—which is certainly noticed in the Fourth Gospel (x. 22). Our authority regarding the origin of this feast is to be found in the Books of the Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 36–59; 2 Macc. x. 1–8), and regarding its mode of observance in the time of our Lord in Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 7. 6 f.). It was held on the 25th of the month Kislev (A.V. *Chislev*, Neh. i. 1), in commemoration of the rededication of the temple—specially the rebuilding of the altar of burnt-offering—under the leadership of Judas Maccabæus after its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes (168 B.C.). This dedication took place on the third anniversary of the desecration (*i.e.* 25th Kislev 165 B.C.), and was ordained by Judas to be kept year by year from that time for eight days “with mirth and gladness.”¹ Part of the ritual of the feast seems closely to have resembled that of the Feast of Tabernacles, with which the writer of 2 Maccabees (x. 6) compares it, actually calling it in another place (i. 9) “the Feast of Tabernacles in the month Kislev.” A main feature of it was the burning of lights (*ibid.* ver. 8), and hence the statement of Josephus (*loc. cit.*), who, after mentioning the first celebration by Judas Maccabæus, remarks: “From that time to this we celebrate this feast and call it Lights [Gr. *Phōta*]. I suppose it was because this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us.” From tracts preserved in the Talmud, some of which are as early as the first century A.D., we learn that the feast was called in Hebrew *Chānukkah* (dedication), and that at the synagogue service the chapter on the dedication of the tabernacle (Num. vii.) was read, and Ps. xxx., which in the Hebrew Bible bears the inscription *Shir Chānukkath Habbayith* (song of the dedication of the house), was sung. It is highly probable that this synagogue ritual was observed in the time of our Lord. According to John x. 22, Jesus’s last visit to Jerusalem previous to the final entry took place during this winter feast, when “He walked in the temple in Solomon’s Porch.” It was, likely enough, the saying which he records at ii. 19 that led the mystic apostle to note the circumstance, for he goes on to tell how, after Jesus had replied to the demand of “the Jews” (ver. 24), that He should tell them plainly whether He were the Christ, the Jews took up stones to stone Him. The tragic contrast between the festive lights, illumining with genial warmth in the season of winter, the carefully cherished temple of stone, and the darkness of fanatic hate which was throwing its desecrating

¹ Macc. iv. 59.

shroud over the true Temple of God (ii. 21), may have struck the evangelist, who tells us how the true light shone in darkness and the darkness comprehended it not (i. 5). Quite apart from important questions of chronology, the whole subject of the Johannine references to the feasts deserves in this aspect close attention.

The Feast of Harvest, Firstfruits or Weeks—Pentecost,¹ is not mentioned in the Gospels, but references to it, both direct and indirect, occur elsewhere² in the New Testament. The first two of its four names point to the fact that the feast was essentially a harvest festival. In what is probably the earliest rubric—that, viz., of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxi.—xxiii.)—it is described (xxiii. 16) as “the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labour which thou hast sown in the field”; and even in the rubric in Deuteronomy (xvi.), when for the first time it is insisted (*e.g.* vers. 2, 16) that the offerings of the feast (and, indeed, all offerings) shall be rendered at the temple only, the note of the joy of harvest (ver. 11) is still preserved. In these earlier rubrics no specification is given of the character of the offerings that were to be presented at the Feast of Harvest, unless, indeed, we may conclude from Exodus xxiii. 16, 19a, that the offering was originally intended to be entirely one of grain produce. In Deuteronomy xvi. emphasis is laid upon the free-will nature of the offering, which is to be according as Jehovah has blessed the worshipper (ver. 10). In the later rubrics, however,—Lev. xxiii. 17–20; Num. xxviii. 26–31,—which belong to a time when nothing but offerings at the temple could be thought of, animal

¹ Corresponding to three of the four Pentateuch passages where this feast is described are the three different but equally appropriate names—(*a*) “Feast of Harvest” (Heb. *Chag Hakkatsir*), Ex. xxiii. 16; (*b*) “Day of the First-fruits” (Heb. *Yom Habbikkurim*), Num. xxviii. 26; (*c*) “Feast of Weeks” (Heb. *Chag Shâbhu'oth*), Deut. xvi. 10. The last name is borrowed from the same circumstances as the Greek *Pentecost* (fiftieth, *scil.* day), Acts ii. 1, xx. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 8, viz., the reckoning of seven weeks from 16th Nisan, the day on which the sheaf was waved in the temple in symbol of the beginning and promise of harvest (Lev. xxiii. 10 ff., ‘*Omer Re'shith*, “sheaf of the firstfruits”).

² Besides the passages indicated above (Note 1), those using the word firstfruits in a spiritual sense are in point, because this mode of speech rests ultimately on a reminiscence of Pentecost, or some circumstance connected with it, as, *e.g.*, that the day was reckoned from the day of offering the sheaf, or the day after the first day of unleavened bread. The most significant of those indirect references is 1 Cor. xv. 20, a sentence which Paul could hardly have written without remembering that the resurrection of Jesus had occurred on 16th Nisan, *i.e.* the morning of the very day when the sheaf that was the promise of the harvest was waved before the Lord by the priests. Similarly, in the next chapter it is possibly the association of the Feast of Pentecost, which is at hand, that makes Paul speak of the household of Stephanas as the “firstfruits of Achaia” (1 Cor. xvi. 15; cp. ver. 8). See also Rom. viii. 23, xi. 16, xvi. 5.

sacrifices as a matter of course accompany the meat and drink offerings.¹ The names *Feast of Weeks* and *Pentecost* point to the mode in which the day of the feast was fixed. Seven weeks were reckoned from the second day, or seven weeks *plus* a day from the *first* day of unleavened bread (respectively 16th and 15th Nisan), which latter was considered a Sabbath (Lev. xxiii. 15 f.). The feast was therefore called in Greek, *Pentecost* (*i.e.* fiftieth, *scil.* day), because it fell on the fiftieth day from the first day of the Passover. As we know from the Gospels (*e.g.* John xix. 31), that in the year² in which Jesus was crucified, the first day of the Passover fell on a Saturday (the

¹ A comparison of the Leviticus and Numbers passages seems to indicate a progress in the amount and specification of what was required. Thus we have *two* bullocks in Numbers against *one* in Leviticus, and where the Leviticus passage is content with the one specification (two-tenths of an ephah) of the meat-offering, the Numbers passage gives us a graduated specification of three-tenths, two-tenths, and one-tenth, corresponding respectively to the offerings of bullock, ram, and lamb. The same progress in the direction of minuter specification is to be noted in a more marked degree in connection with the rules for the Feast of Tabernacles. Thus while the Deuteronomy passage (xvi. 13-15) simply emphasises, as in the Feast of Firstfruits, the note of joy, and says nothing about offerings beyond what is included in the general rule, that at none of the three feasts are the males to appear before the Lord empty, but every man is to give according to ability of the blessing of Jehovah (vers. 16 f.), the rubric in Numbers (xxix. 12-38) expands the two-verse prescription of Leviticus (xxiii. 35 f.) into twenty-six verses, containing directions for the offerings of each of the eight days of the feast.

² Whether 30, 31, or 32 A.D., no astronomer has yet conclusively settled. That these are in all probability the years from which we have to choose will appear from the following considerations:—(1) Jesus was born in the year of Herod's death (not *before* it, Luke ii. 2, see footnote, p. 45, and not *after* it, Matt. ii. 1 ff.), *i.e.* 4 B.C. (2) The ministry of Jesus is dated in all the Gospels from the appearance of John the Baptist, and this appearance, according to Luke iii. 1, happened in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, *i.e.* 28 or 29 A.D., when Jesus was thirty-two or thirty-three years of age. Hence Luke says only that He was "about" thirty years of age when He began to teach (Luke iii. 23 R.V.). (3) According to John's indication of three (or possibly four, see p. 151, note 3) Passovers, the first of which coincides practically with the commencement of His ministry (ii. 13 as compared with i. 29), the last coinciding with His death, the ministry of Jesus can hardly have lasted many weeks more than two (possibly three) years. It would seem, therefore, that the years we have to choose from are, as stated, 30, 31, and 32 A.D. On the basis of the Gospels, and 4 B.C. as the year of Herod's death, no other year is possible—not 29 (Ideler and Zumpt), or 35 (Keim), or 36 (Hitzig), or 33 (Ewald and Renan). The astronomers might decide the matter for us, if they were able to prove to a demonstration that on one or other of the years 30, 31, or 32 the 15th of Nisan fell on a Saturday (*i.e.* the Jewish Sabbath); but their decision would not be accepted as final by those who, in view of the seeming discrepancy between John and the Synoptists (see below on **Passover**), cannot make up their minds whether the Saturday during which the body of Jesus lay in the tomb was the 15th or the 16th Nisan.

Jewish Sabbath), the Pentecost, which was the birthday of the Christian Church (Acts ii. 1), must have fallen on a Sunday (*i.e.* the Christian Sabbath). Thus while Christ, the Firstfruits, rose from the dead on the day (16th Nisan)¹ when the sheaf or promise of the harvest was presented in the temple (1 Cor. xv. 20; cp. Lev. xxiii. 10 f.), it was on the day of the Feast of Harvest that the three thousand (Acts ii. 41) received the Spirit of Him that raised Jesus from the dead (Rom. viii. 11). Acts xx. 16 and 1 Cor. xvi. 8 may fairly be considered to confirm the probability that, quite apart from the momentum of Jewish custom, the anniversary of Pentecost was ever after the year indicated in Acts ii. 1 observed with peculiar veneration in Christian circles.

The Feast of Tabernacles or Ingathering:² Of almost equal importance with the Passover—if not from the standpoint of some of the later Old Testament writers,³ and of the populace of Palestine in our Lord's day, of superior importance to it—was the feast of Tabernacles or Ingathering, the last great feast of the year. It fell on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, and since the time of the Deuteronomic code lasted for at least seven days (*i.e.* 15th–21st Tisri (or Ethanim) included). The later rubrics⁴ add an eighth day (22nd Tisri), which, as the last day not only of the Feast of Tabernacles, but of the festive year,⁵ was observed as a Sabbath, and had come long before the time of our Lord to be considered a day of extraordinary importance.

The importance attached to the feast generally was doubtless connected with the fact of its occurring on the seventh or Sabbath

¹ Those, of course, who date the death at 15th Nisan must date the resurrection at the 17th.

² Heb. *Chag Hušukkoth*, *Chag Ha'āsiph*. For the former, Deut. xvi. 16, xxxi. 10; Zech. xiv. 16 ff.; for the latter, Ex. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 12. The Greek names, *Skēnai* (tents, 2 Macc. x. 6), *Skēnopēgia* (tent-fixing, 2 Macc. i. 9, 18; John vii. 2), represent only the former of the Hebrew names.

³ Compare the space given to the description of it in the latest rubric (Num. xxix. 12–38) with that allowed to the Passover, which occupies only 10 verses (Num. xviii. 16–25), and see Zech. xiv. 16 ff., where in the last times the Gentiles are to show their veneration for Jehovah and His people by coming to the Feast of Tabernacles. The growth of the ritual of the feast may be judged of by a comparison of Deut. xvi. 5 with the simple rubric in the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxiii. 16), which probably contemplated only a harvest festival of one day similar in character to the Feast of Weeks.

⁴ Lev. xxiii. 34–43; Num. xxix. 12–38, which, although both speaking of a feast of seven days, yet go on to speak of an eighth day, which was observed, like the 15th, as a Sabbath (ver. 34 as compared with ver. 36 in the Leviticus, ver. 12 as compared with ver. 35 in the Numbers passage).

⁵ So Philo, who remarks that it was considered as closing all the festivals of the year. The Talmudic tract *Sukka* calls it the “last and good day”; cp. John's characterisation, vii. 37: “the last day, the great day of the feast.” The historical references to the feast are all careful to notice the *eight* days (cp. Neh. viii. 18; 2 Macc. x. 6; Jos. *Antiq.* iii. x. 4).

month, which was introduced with a blowing of trumpets, summoning to solemn convocation, and on the tenth day of which occurred the great Day of Atonement (Lev. xxiii. 24-32), but it may also be connected with the fact, noted in Nehemiah viii. 17 (cp. ver. 14), of the feast having been neglected from the time of Joshua to that of the Return.¹ One of the main features of the feast is suggested by the name *Sukkoth* (tabernacles, booths, Lev. xxiii. 42 ff., etc.). It was the custom to take branches of trees (olive, pine, myrtle, palm, etc., Neh. viii. 15) and erect booths on the tops of the houses and in their courts, in the courts of the temple, and even in the streets (*ibid.* ver. 16), in commemoration of the tent-life of the wilderness. During the seven days of the feast the people lived in the booths, but on the Sabbath eighth day every man returned to his own house in thankful remembrance of the fact that after his tent-life Israel came to restful settlement in his own land.² From the references in 2 Maccabees,³ we may conclude that both in respect of the booths and the lights, the observances of the Feast of Tabernacles closely resembled those of the Dedication. Brilliant candelabra, swinging over the temple courts, recalled the pillar of fire that had rested by night over the tabernacle of the pilgrim fathers of the wilderness (Num. ix. 15 ff.). From the earliest times (Ex. xxiii. 16) the Feast had been associated with the completion of harvest, and seeing that the note of harvest joy had not been lost even by the centralisation of the feast at the temple (Deut. xvi. 15; cp. *ibid.* vers. 13, 14), we can readily understand how, among the lower classes, some of the festivities might develop a degree of licence sufficient to warrant Plutarch's comparison of the Tabernacles to the feasts of Bacchus. It is evident, however, that in the time of our Lord the associations of the feast were with the great mass of the people still mainly of a religious character. Apart from the daily special sacrifices (Num. xxix. 12-38), we know from rabbinical authorities that it was the custom, at least during the seven days of the feast, for the priest, standing in front of the altar of burnt-offering, to pour out a libation of water from a golden cup filled at the Pool of Siloam to the accompaniment of cymbals and trumpets in the presence of the applauding crowds, who were thus reminded how their thirsting fathers were miraculously supplied from the rock in the wilderness. We know also

¹ An argument in favour of the historicity of Hezekiah's Passover, as narrated in 2 Chron. xxx. 1 ff. (cp. 2 Kings xxiii. 21 f.), might perhaps be founded on the fact that the chronicler says nothing in this connection about the Feast of Tabernacles. If 2 Chron. xxx. is mere edifying Haggada, why does the chronicler, whose point of view can hardly have been different from that of Zech. xiv., not set more than a Passover to the credit of so good a king as Hezekiah?

² So Lange aptly suggests; cp. Godet *in loc.*, John vi. 37 f.

³ 2 Macc. i. 8 f., x. 6.

(Neh. viii. 18) that it was the custom to read at the feast portions of the Pentateuch, and in view of the libation ceremony we cannot doubt that special attention was paid to Exodus xvii. 1-7 and Numbers xx. 2-13. It seems almost certain that there is an underlying reference to the libation ceremony in John vii. 37 f.¹ This chapter throughout (John vii.) illustrates more than one characteristic fact in relation to the feast. Thus, vers. 2-4, the brethren of Jesus who do not yet believe in Him (ver. 5), but seem honestly to desire from Him a line of conduct that would make belief for them easier, urge Him to go up to the Feast of Tabernacles. From the previous chapter (vi. 4) we know Him to have been absent from the Passover of that year, and there is no likelihood that He would go up to Jerusalem specially for Pentecost. Not only do His brethren wish Him, if He is the Messiah, to exhibit His miracles to the crowds at Jerusalem, which were probably as great (if not, perhaps, so representative) as those at the Passover, but, in view of the fact that every pious Israelite made a point of being present at at least one of the great feasts every year, they are in all likelihood scandalised that He should that year contemplate being absent from them all. Jesus has, however, been aware since at least the last Passover² that His death is to take place at the feast to which

¹ The point is admirably brought out by Godet (*in loc.*). His remarks on ver. 38 (esp. the phrase, "as the Scripture *hath said*" (or "was saying," *eipen* not *legeri*)) are specially illumining. Although there are not lacking passages (e.g. Joel iii. 18; Zech. xiv. 8; Ezek. xlvi. 1-12) in which Messianic blessings are represented under the emblem of a stream or fountain, none that can be quoted seem quite to justify the ideas expressed by our Lord, of the Messianic believer becoming himself a fountain. Godet finds the key to the enigmatic expression "out of his (the believer's) belly," in the fact that Jesus (who, it must be remembered, spoke Hebrew (Aramaic) as his mother-tongue) had in mind the passages Ex. xvii. 1 ff. and Num. xx. 2 ff., which probably had been publicly read every day that week. He thinks specially of the words to Moses, Ex. xvii. 6: "Behold, I will *stand*" (the evangelist notes (ver. 37) that Jesus *stood*; a Jewish teacher ordinarily *sat*; cp. Matt. v. 1 R.V. and Luke iv. 20) "before thee there in Horeb, and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water *out of it*" (or "*from within him*," there being no difference in the Heb. *mimmennu* between *it* and *him*). The "*from his belly*" of the Greek corresponds to the "*from within him*" of the original Hebrew, and the idea is not only that the true Messiah is the Spiritual Rock, that, in the truth of the beautiful Haggadic fancy, waits upon Jehovah's believing people (1 Cor. x. 4), but also that everyone who drinks from that Rock becomes himself "a rock-fountain to others, saturated with spiritual power that will flow forth in abundance to the touch of need. The "rivers of living water" of ver. 38 have their parallel in the *mayim rabbim* ("abundant waters") of Num. xx. 11: "And abundant waters came forth." The words, "*as said the Scriptures*," would thus mean in effect—*to quote an expression from the Scripture* (Num. xx. 11) *we heard read a little ago*. Those who have paid attention to the note of symbolism which pervades the Fourth Gospel will not hastily dismiss this exegesis as fanciful.

² Witness the Paschal sermon in John vi. 27 ff., which, in this reference,

He has already by symbol related it (John vi.), and not at the Feast of Tabernacles. So He replies that His hour has not yet come,¹ and abstains from going up as a regular celebrant to the feast, an act whose wisdom is fully vindicated by the temper of keen watchfulness regarding Him exhibited both by the populace and by the authorities (vers. 11 f., 19, 32, 40 ff.). At the same time, He is determined not to lose the opportunity afforded by the feast of addressing the crowds who gather daily in the temple. Accordingly, He goes up about the middle of the festive week (ver. 14), and while His words and bearing create surmisings and divisions among the populace, and quicken the hostility of the authorities (vers. 25 ff., 43, 30, 44), He not only avoids arrest (vers. 44–46), but wins the regard of a considerable number, who declare for His Messiahship (ver. 31). Chiefly it is clear that Jesus utilised the circumstances of the last and great Sabbatic day of the feast (vers. 37 f.) for the purpose of directing the attention of the people to Himself as the true fulfiller of the ideas symbolised by the feast, in particular, the rite of the libation at the altar of burnt-offering. Commentators agree that the booths were removed by the evening of the seventh day, and every man “went unto his own house” (John vii. 53), but it is debated whether on the eighth day, which was Sabbatic in character, the libation-rite was repeated.² The question is of no real importance, but if we adopt the supposition, for which there is rabbinical authority (see Godet), that that ceremony also disappeared with the booths, an additional note of impressiveness seems to be given to the attitude and words of Jesus indicated at ver. 37.

may be considered as excusing the symbolising evangelist from specially mentioning the Paschal Supper in connection with the last supper of Jesus (xiii. 1 ff.), all the more that, in that connection, he probably wishes (*contra Alford in loc.*, Matt. xxvi. 17) to emphasise the fact, obscured in the Synoptic tradition, that the supper of Jesus did not take place on the night of the legal Jewish Passover, but on the night before. John, after his manner, allows the symbolism of fact to interpret itself. On the very day, even at the very hour, “between the evenings” (3–6 o’clock, cp. Lev. xxiii. 5, etc., with Matt. xxvii. 46, and, for the proof that John had the Passover in mind in his account of the death of Jesus, cp. Ex. xii. 46 with John xix. 36), when the Passover lambs were being slain at the temple, the Lamb of God was offered a willing sacrifice.

¹ The force of ver. 8 (where we should omit *yet*, and read simply, *I go not up*, etc.) seems to be: I do not go up to keep the feast, but that does not hinder Me from going up to Jerusalem *during the feast* (see Godet).

² It is clear even from the rubrics, that not only mention but emphasise the eighth day, that the latter was an addition to the feast proper, which closed on the evening of 21st Tisri (see Lev. xxiii. 34 and Num. xxix. 12). The fact that this additional day came to be the great day is no proof to the contrary. The postscript is often the important part of the important letter. If, as the preponderant MSS. testimony leads us to suppose, the section John vii. 53–viii. 11 is an interpolation, the intention of the interpolator at ver. 53 is probably to indicate the conclusion of the Feast of Tabernacles.

On the last and great day the true Priest of Humanity *stands*,¹ where on the previous days the legal and typical priest had stood, and for the libation, the characteristic symbol of the feast, He substitutes the reality of Himself, the fulfilled Word of the prophecies contained in the sacred Scriptures read at the feast.

The Feast of the Passover,² or Unleavened Bread.³—(A.) The Paschal Supper in our Lord's Time: The fact that one of the briefer rubrics of this feast (Ex. xiii. 10) was to be to the Israelite for a "sign upon his hand and a memorial between his eyes" (*ibid.* ver. 9), *i.e.* was one of the passages fastened by the prayer-straps to the arm and head of every Israelite,⁴ is sufficient proof of the supreme claim of the Passover as an ordinance of piety upon the Jew; and the perpetuation of its memory through its association with the Supper instituted by our Lord gives it a unique interest for Christians. We need remark here specially only on (A.) the Passover, as celebrated in the time of our Lord, and (B.) the Paschal controversy: (1) as it relates to the apparent differences between the Synoptists and John; (2) as it relates to the difference in early times between the Asiatic Church and the rest of Christendom in the matter of the celebration of Easter. A. Even at the time (previous to the centralisation of worship) represented by Exodus xxiii. 13,⁵ the lamb slain, offered, and eaten, along with the unleavened bread, seems to have been an essential feature of the feast. Originally, doubtless, the feast had purely pastoral and agricultural associations,⁶ the first-born lamb symbolising the first

¹ In contrast with the usual posture of the Jewish teacher (Matt. v. 1 R.V.; Luke iv. 20).

² Heb. *Pesach*, from the Chaldee form of which, *Pischā'*, the Greek form used in the N.T.—*τὸ Πάσχα*—is taken (Matt. xxvi. 17; John xviii. 28, etc.). The form *Phasek*, used by the LXX. in 2 Chron. xxxv. 11 ff., is evidently taken straight from the Hebrew, while the form *Phaska*, used by Josephus (*Antiq.* v. 1. 4, etc.), is another variation of the Chaldee form.

³ Heb. *Mattsoth* (*e.g.* Deut. xvi. 16); Gr. *Tὰ Αζύμα* (*e.g.* Luke xxii. 1; Acts xx. 6).

⁴ See p. 91 of this Handbook.

⁵ The time of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxi.—xxiii.), which represents the oldest of the three strata of codification, which (with abundant differences as to matters of detail) O.T. scholars now agree to recognise. The other two are: *Deuteronomy*, representing the time when centralisation at Jerusalem and the temple still needs to be urged (see the constant recurrence in the feast-rubrics of Deuteronomy, of the formula, "at the place which the Lord thy God shall choose to place His name there," *e.g.* Deut. xvi. 5 f., *ibid.* vers. 2, 15 and 16); and the *Priestly Code* (=approx. Leviticus, Numbers, and the legal portion of Exodus exclusive of chaps. xxi. to xxiii.), representing the later post-Exilian time, when only the schismatic Samaritans can contemplate the rendering of offerings outside of Jerusalem.

⁶ Such a feast, *e.g.*, as is referred to in Ex. v. 3, which is probably just the feast (so Wellhausen and others) of which the Passover is the transformation.

promise of the year which the piety of a pastoral people would naturally offer to God. The narrative in Exodus xii. may be regarded as a kind of snapshot photograph of a historic transformation, actually in progress, whereby the primitive pastoral feast of a people, who are as yet but a loose conglomerate of tribal fragments, becomes by the touch, awesome and glorious, of the Angel of the Presence, the angel of death and life (vers. 29 and 23), an institute sacred to the conscience, and is consecrated as the repository for ages to come of a nation's most glorious memories. It was doubtless this association of the Passover with the origin of the holy nation that made it speak to our Lord of a divine purpose beyond what could be comprehended by the most devout Jew of His day, and made it impossible for the thoughtful Israelite seriously to question its superiority to the Feast of Tabernacles, however naturally the latter feast might rival its position in the popular regard. In the nature of the case no feast could in such a degree carry in its bosom the history and the heart of the chosen people. From the time of Josiah and the Deuteronomic legislation, the Passover lost the household character which belongs to it in the history that still lives for us in the narrative portion of Exodus xii., and the rubric in Deuteronomy requires not only that the lamb be sacrificed at the temple, but that the Paschal feast be eaten there (Deut. xvi. 7). But before the rubric, which was woven by later editors into the historical narrative of Exodus xii., attained the form we find in our Bibles, the latter requirement had been altered.¹ While the lambs were to be slain at the temple between 3 and 6 o'clock² on 14th Nisan, the Paschal Supper was harmonised with the historic reminiscence which it enshrined, and was required to be eaten within the doors of private houses. It is equally certain that such was the practice in our Lord's day; and it is as clear from the express statements of the Synoptists as it is from the note of Passover symbolism that pervades John's Gospel, that He

¹ Cp. Deut. xvi. 7 with Ex. xii. 22. In the latter passage the requirement of Deuteronomy, that the celebrant shall remain overnight in the temple, is exchanged for, "None of you shall go out at the door of his house until the morning," a passage that offers one of many proofs that the supper and arrest of Jesus could not have taken place on the legal Passover evening, 14th Nisan (see below).

² Ex. xii. 6, where "in the evening" is literally "between the evenings" (*bēn ha'arbāyim*, cp. Lev. xxiii. 5), *i.e.* between the commencement and the close of the last section of the day that began at what we should call 6 p.m. on 13th Nisan, but which was really, in strictly Jewish reckoning, already the commencement of the 14th, just as 6 p.m. on the 14th was already the commencement of the 15th. Hence in the same rubric which required the Passover lamb to be slain and eaten on the evening of the 14th, the 15th could be spoken of as the *first* day of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 6; Num. xxviii. 17), although it is quite certain that unleavened bread was an essential of the supper that was eaten on the 14th at even.

intended to give the supper prepared in the upper room in Jerusalem on the night of His betrayal a Paschal character. With the exception of the item noted at ver. 11, which would readily be felt to be cumbersome, and had at anyrate fallen into disuse, the main features of the supper, as observed in the time of our Lord, were such as are prescribed in Exodus xii. Authorities differ as to the exact order of the ritual, and we may believe that a certain latitude was allowed as to details. The following points, however, may be considered fixed: (1) The *Materials* of the feast were a roasted lamb, which had been slain and presented at the temple, unleavened bread, bitter herbs sweetened with a fruit-sauce¹ (resembling in colour the bricks made in Egypt), and wine. (2) The *President* of the feast was the head of the household, whose duty it was, while dispensing the feast, to utter appropriate forms of *Thanksgiving*, and to give *Explanations*, intended originally for the instruction of the children of the house as to the meaning of the ritual.² (3) At least three, usually four, and sometimes five, *cups of wine* were handed round; the first and especially the third, distinguished as the "Cup of Blessing,"³ were introduced with words of thanksgiving uttered by the President, who also at one stage broke one of the unleavened cakes and passed round the fragments to the members of the household, inviting them to follow his example of dipping a piece in the sauce, and eating it along with a piece of the lamb and the bitter herbs. (4) Appropriate *Psalms*⁴ were sung at the close of, and perhaps also during, the supper, those most commonly used being Psalms cxiii.-cxviii., known as the *Hallel*.

¹ The probable reference to this sauce, into which the bread as well as the bitter herbs was dipped, in John xiii. 25-27, may be considered as indicating that even in the Fourth Gospel the supper has a literal Paschal aspect.

² Cp. Ex. xii. 26f. Besides what is there mentioned, the explanation would touch such matters as that noted at ver. 34. The bitter herbs were explained as the symbol of the bondage in Egypt, and the sweet sauce as the alleviations provided by Jehovah, who at length sent complete deliverance.

³ *Tὸν πότερον τῆς εὐλογίας*, 1 Cor. x. 16. The third evangelist has preserved a trace of the wine rubric in the fact that he mentions *two* cups in his account of our Lord's institution (Luke xxii. 17, 20). Thus the cup at ver. 17 introduces the Paschal meal, that at ver. 20, described as the "cup after supper," would be the ordinary third cup, or "cup of blessing," which closed the Paschal meal.

⁴ The first two evangelists have preserved a note of this feature in the supper of our Lord, Matt. xxvi. 30, Mark xiv. 26, where "when they had sung a hymn" might be rendered, *having sung the usual psalms*. The appropriateness of such a psalm as the 116th to the holy festive mood of victory in death in which Jesus ate the transformed Passover, must have struck the Church from the earliest times. Scotch readers will remember how frequently this psalm is used at post-communion thanksgiving services. Pss. cxiii.-cxviii. were known as the *Hallel* (Praise God), from which was distinguished the *Great Hallel*, sometimes also sung, which is variously described by different scholars as Pss. cxx.-cxxxvii., cxxxv.-cxxxvii., cxxxvi.

Clear traces that this ritual was at least partially observed by our Lord and His disciples on the night of the betrayal are to be found, specially in the accounts of the institution of the Christian Supper in the Third Gospel, and in the passage in 1 Corinthians xi., which, owing to Luke's association with Paul, has natural affinity with it.¹ The part of the ritual in which explanations were given as to the meaning of the feast would obviously afford opportunity for the words that introduced the new institution. There is no reason to doubt that a lamb was used. The accounts of the Synoptists clearly imply that Jesus had a private understanding with the owner of the house where the supper was celebrated; and while, in accordance with that understanding, the lamb may have been kept in readiness since 10th Nisan (Ex. xii. 3), the exigencies of the case, in particular, the fact that the "hour" of Jesus had come before that of the legal Jewish feast, made it as impossible (as, in view of the symbolism of fact which specially struck John, it was inappropriate) to observe the rule that the lamb should be slain and offered at the temple on the afternoon of the 14th (*ibid.* v. 6).²

(B.) 1. **The Paschal Controversy, the Day of the Lord's Supper and Death:** From an early period in the Christian era, it has been noticed that there is at least an apparent difference between the account of John and that of the Synoptists as to the date of the last supper (consequently also of the death and resurrection) of our Lord. While all the accounts agree that the supper took place on a Thursday, the crucifixion on the following Friday, and the resurrection on the following Sunday, the Synoptists³ seem to say that the Thursday fell on the 14th Nisan (on the evening of

¹ In particular, the mention of *two* cups and the description of the latter as the "cup after supper" (1 Cor. x. 16: "The cup of blessing"), Luke xxii. 17 and 20; cp. 1 Cor. xi. 25.

² Cp. Matt. xxvi. 17-19; Mark xiv. 12-16; Luke xxii. 7-13. Luke's account is the most explicit, cp. Luke xxii. 10f. (Mark xiv. 13f.). The object of the secrecy was doubtless to keep Judas Iscariot in the dark, and so delay the arrest till after the supper. Godet connects the sign of the man bearing the pitcher of water (ver. 10) with the custom according to which, on the evening of the 13th, the Jewish householder brought in pure water to be used in kneading the dough of the unleavened bread. Later, candles were lit and the house searched so as to remove every vestige of leaven. Godet suggestively connects the words in Matt. xxvi. 18, "My time is at hand, I keep [*poiō*] the Passover at thy house with My disciples," with the fact, made distinct in the Fourth Gospel, that the night of the Lord's Passover was the 13th, not 14th, Nisan. The fact that His hour was at hand is the explanation to the owner of the house why the regular day of the feast is anticipated. The conjectures that the house was that of John Mark (Acts xii. 12), and that he was the young man with the linen cloth in the garden (Mark xiv. 51f.), have perhaps more than an average degree of probability.

³ Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7: "first day of unleavened bread," "the day of unleavened bread," i.e. 15th Nisan (Lev. xxiii. 6, cp. ver. 5; Num. xxviii. 17, cp. ver. 16), beginning 6 p.m. on the 14th.

which day the regular Passover Supper of the Jews took place), which would imply that the trial and crucifixion of Jesus took place on the 15th, which the law required should be observed as a Sabbath. On the other hand, John's statement, direct and implied, that the supper of Jesus took place the evening before the regular Jewish supper is perfectly distinct.¹ In spite of the laborious argument to the contrary of so great a scholar as Keim,² we have as perfect confidence in believing with John that the supper of Jesus took place on 13th Nisan as we have in believing, with the Synoptists, that Jesus designed to give it a real Paschal character.³ As to the former point, it is simply incon-

¹ Thus the supper of Jesus took place *pro tēs heortēs tou Pascha* ("before the Feast of the Passover"), John xiii. 1. One might, by a stretch, suppose that John meant *before the days of unleavened bread* (15th to 21st Nisan), but when he tells us (xviii. 28) that the accusers of Jesus would not go into the house where Pilate was lest they should disqualify themselves from *eating the Passover*, it is almost inconceivable that he can mean anything else than that the solemn supper of the evening of the 14th was still in prospect. Again, the day indicated at xix. 14, "the preparation of the Passover," cannot be other than the 14th, though the *hour* may be either 6 a.m. or noon, according as we decide whether John followed the Roman plan of reckoning, from 12 to 12, or the Jewish plan (6 to 6). In view of the distinct references of the Synoptists (Matt. xxvii. 45 f.; Mark xv. 33 f.; Luke xxiii. 44) to the hours of 12 and 3 o'clock p.m. as belonging to a late stage of the crucifixion, we cannot but suppose that at xix. 14 John means 6 a.m. Similarly, at xix. 31, in the parenthesis *en gar megalē hē hēmera ekeinou (ekeinē) tou Sabbatou* ("for great was the [that] day of that [the] Sabbath"), John clearly means to indicate that the Sabbath which was the next day to that of the crucifixion was remarkable as being not merely the ordinary Sabbath (or seventh day), but the first day of unleavened bread (15th Nisan), which the law required should be observed as a Sabbath on its own merits (Lev. xxiii. 7, etc.). The same is implied at xix. 42, where, though it is true that within rabbinical circles an ordinary Friday could be described as *paraskeuē* (preparation-day), it is not natural to suppose that any of the evangelists (except perhaps, by a stretch, Matthew), who wrote at least as much for Gentile as for Jewish readers, would have used this special Jewish denomination except in relation to the special Jewish Feast-Sabbath.

² *Jesus of Nazara*, vol. vi. pp. 195-219. Keim allows the symbolism of John's Gospel (in particular, in this instance the Lamb of God being slain on the same day with the Jewish lamb) to weigh against its claim to historicity, and has therefore to be at great pains to prove that all the circumstances of a criminal trial and execution might well enough—in view of the laxity of the Jewish authorities in the observance of Sabbath days in the time of our Lord (!)—have taken place on such a day as 15th Nisan. Keim combines admirably a weak case with a lengthy argument.

³ It will be observed that in harmony with his true indication of the day of the supper, John says nothing of its Paschal character, nor does he mention the institution of the Christian feast. Basing on this certainly remarkable difference, Alford (*in loc.*, Matt. xxvi. 17) is quite certain that John could not have seen the Synoptic accounts. He finds it inconceivable that John "could have made no more allusion to the discrepancy [between them and his own account] than the faint, and to all appearance undesigned, ones in xii. 1, xiii. 1, 29, xviii. 28." Alford, in fact, is sure that if John had

ceivable that Jesus should have been arrested, tried, and crucified within the Sabbath period, 6 p.m. 14th Nisan to 6 p.m. 15th Nisan. No doubt the authorities were pressed by an extreme desire to lay hold of Him, but their first plan had been apparently to wait till *after* the feast (Matt. xxvi. 5 R.V., "not during the feast"). Would the Sanhedrists, who appear throughout determined to give their proceedings against Jesus an aspect of legality, and who feared the populace (*ibid.*), have risked such a glaring breach of Sabbatical conventions as a criminal trial and execution on a Sabbath day? The thing is more inconceivable than a criminal court, engaged with a trial for murder, holding a session in London on Good Friday. The account of John is, moreover, supported by the Talmud, where tract *Sanhedrin*, which belongs to the text of the Mishnah, states that Jesus was crucified, *be'erebh happešāch*,¹ a phrase which even Keim admits can mean only "on the eve of the Passover," *i.e.* near the close of the day of the day previous to that which commenced at 6 p.m. on 14th Nisan: more precisely, 3 to 6 o'clock on 14th Nisan. Finally, by various indications noted below,² the Synoptists themselves unconsciously confirm John's account. As to the other point: if the Synoptists alone give us the distinct statement of the fact

had before him the phenomena of our four Gospels, he could not but have felt the same despair over the discrepancies in the accounts of the supper that the modern commentator (*teste* Alford) is apt to feel. Quite apart from the evidence as to John's accurate knowledge of the Synoptic tradition implied in the fact that he did not in all probability leave Palestine till after the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), the reserve which Alford notes in John's account of the supper, in particular the "faint" and "undesigned" allusions in xiii. 1, etc., seems to us most easily accounted for on the supposition that both he and the Church generally were well acquainted with the Synoptic story. John might well feel that no one who read chap. vi. of his Gospel could for a moment doubt the Paschal character of the supper of Jesus. He therefore felt free to give the greater prominence to the fact which he wishes, in view of the Synoptic obscurities, to make distinct, namely, that the supper took place on 13th, not on 14th, Nisan, and he does so by ignoring, so far as the supper is concerned, the Paschal connections altogether. He could not do the latter, however, without ignoring, as he does, the institution of the Christian Supper. While he thinks it worth while to correct the inaccuracy of the Synoptists, he does not think it worth while to write the word *discrepancy* with the capital letters which Alford seems to have expected.

¹ For a parallel: *be'erebh Shabbath* denotes the afternoon towards evening of Friday, not the evening of Sabbath.

² Thus: (1) Matt. xxvi. 18 (as above, p. 163, note 2); (2) Matt. xxvii. 62. The chief priests ask Pilate for a guard at the tomb of Jesus "on the morrow, which is the day after the Preparation," *i.e.* the day of execution had been the day of Preparation, which in this connection can hardly mean other than the preparation for the first day (15th Nisan) of the feast, *i.e.* 14th Nisan. (3) Similarly, Mark xv. 42, Joseph begs the body of Jesus "when even was come because it was the *paraskeuē* which is *prosabbaton* (a pre-Sabbatical day)." If Mark had intended merely to indicate an ordinary

that the supper of Jesus was Paschal in character, it is John,¹ in particular,—witness chap. vi.,—who records the expression of the ideas which give the Paschal association significance. Keim, who is perhaps the most distinguished advocate of the Synoptical as against the Johannine date of the supper, makes it a main feature of his argument that John's desire to synchronise the death of the Lamb of God with that of the typical lamb of the Passover has made him untrue to history.

It stands fast, therefore, (1) that the supper of Jesus took place on the evening of 13th Nisan, and His death the following day; and yet (2) that His Supper was Paschal in form, and His Institute is an idealised Passover. It remains to ask, How are we to account for the apparently distinct Synoptic statements that the supper of Jesus took place on 14th Nisan (Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7)? While admitting the language of the Synoptists to be misleading, Godet has pointed out that, as by Jewish reckoning the 14th of Nisan, the day when “between the evenings” (3 to 6 p.m.) the Passover lamb was slain (Ex. xii. 6), began, strictly speaking, at 6 p.m. on the 13th, the evening, or even (by a stretch) the late afternoon, of the 13th could be spoken of as already the *first day of unleavened bread* (*i.e.* 15th Nisan, beginning 6 p.m. on the 14th). It seems to us that the utmost that can be conceded to this argument is to say that the mode of speech adopted by the Synoptists, while entirely unnatural to narrators who wished to be precise, is yet just such as would be used by those who, while they will not state an untruth, have yet reasons for speaking ambiguously in regard to the particular matter of the precise date of the Lord's Supper. If we remember that, unlike John's Gospel, the Synoptic narrative is to a large extent but the crystallised form of the early apostolic sermons, largely narrative in character, if we consider the looseness of popular discourse, and take into account that all the narrative preachers must have thought it right to pay special regard to the Paschal nature of the Lord's Supper, and even if we disregard the point (which yet seems to us equally deserving of attention) that there must have been natural hesitation in Friday, he would, writing for Gentile readers, have said simply “because it was *prosabbaton*.” It is the connection with the feast that makes the Jewish word *paraskeue* appropriate. (4) Mark xv. 21: Simon, who meets the procession on the way to Calvary, is coming in “from the country.” The natural supposition is that he is returning from his work (*ap' agrou*=from a field), *i.e.* the day is not Sabbatical. It is suggested that Simon was only taking a walk! But even a walk taken on a Sabbath by one of the accursed people who knew not the law would have been, in the eyes of the Sanhedrists, an unpardonable offence. (5) Luke xxiii. 54 ff.: The women prepare the spices at once because (ver. 54) “it was the day of the preparation, and the Sabbath drew on.” Why this remark if the day were already the Sabbatical 15th Nisan?

¹ Cp. also i. 29, xix. 36.

saying bluntly to audiences largely Jewish that Jesus did not observe the Passover on the regular day, it cannot seem extraordinary that a way of speaking of the matter should have come into vogue which, while it might by a stretch be brought into harmony with the real fact, could yet, taken by itself, mean only that the Lord's Supper was Paschal in exact date as well as in form. It seems to us entirely reasonable to suppose that John's abstinence in the matter of noting the Paschal character of the supper (xiii. 1 ff.), and the distinctness with which he notes the date of it, were due to his desire to clear up what the Synoptists had left obscure. As we know from Irenaeus (last part of second century A.D.) that John survived the accession of the Emperor Trajan (98 A.D.), and so may easily have written his Gospel thirty or more years after the Synoptic tradition had become fixed, we may readily believe that the collapse of the Jewish State, which had happened in the interval, had greatly weakened the sentiment to which the Synoptic ambiguity may have been partly due.

2. **The Paschal Controversy in the Early Church:** The treatment of this subject is beyond our limits, but as the practice of the Western Church, preserved from very early times, in separating Easter from 14th Nisan, in contradistinction to the practice of the Asiatic¹ Church, which up to the fourth century observed Easter on that day, has been supposed to invalidate the testimony of John regarding the day of the Lord's Supper and death, it may be well briefly to indicate what appears to be the real state of the case.² We can indicate only a few of the salient points.

(a) It is an entire mistake to suppose that the Asiatic practice had originally any exegetical basis at all as regards either John or the Synoptics. Exegetical questions relating to the Gospels were introduced only incidentally into a controversy, the main point of which, as its entire course shows, was whether Easter should be celebrated on the day of the Jewish Passover (14th Nisan), or should not rather be dissociated from that day. The Orientals contended that as the Lord's death and resurrection were the fulfilment of the Passover, it was proper, as it were, to Christianise the Jewish legal day. The Westerns contended that it was best to separate the Christian festival from a day which, as they said, was sacred to the "murderers of the Lord," and

¹ *I.e.* the Church of the Roman province of Asia, which included only a small portion of modern Asia Minor. The practice of the Asiatic Church was to fast during the day on 14th Nisan, and celebrate the Lord's Supper on the evening of that day. The practice of the rest of Christendom was to fast during the days corresponding to those of the Jewish Feast of Unleavened Bread, and celebrate the Lord's Supper on the Sunday after 14th Nisan. In both cases the Christian Supper terminated the fast.

² For a full account, see Godet's *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*, vol. iii. pp. 294 ff.

defended their own practice of holding Easter on the first Sunday after 14th Nisan.

(b) So far were the Orientals from connecting their practice specially with John's account of the date of our Lord's death (14th Nisan), that at an early stage of the controversy (120 A.D.) the Laodiceans defended the Asiatic practice (which was their own) on the ground that the 14th was the day on which Jesus had celebrated His supper. They appealed especially to Matthew, but apparently without the least consciousness that they were thereby invalidating the testimony of John, whose authority was naturally paramount in the Asiatic Church.

(c) The argument of the Laodiceans led to the production of two controversial writings, one by the Eastern, Apollinarus of Hierapolis, the other by Clement of Alexandria (who adhered to the Western practice), both of which contended that the real date of the Lord's Supper, as was clear from the Fourth Gospel, was 13th, not 14th, Nisan. Neither of these writings seems to have attacked the Synoptic testimony, and the fact that Apollinarus made no effort to induce his Church to alter the date of the observance of the Easter Communion from 14th to 13th Nisan serves to confirm our assertion that the Asiatic practice connected itself solely with the idea of Christianising the Jewish Passover, and not with any theory as to the exact date either of the institution or of the death of Jesus. Indeed, as to the latter point, it seems probable that up to the time Apollinarus wrote, in spite of her esteem for John, the Asiatic Church had not observed his quite distinct but not obtrusive indication of the date of the Lord's Supper as the 13th. Eusebius, the Church historian, who himself favoured the Western practice, admits that up to the fourth century the Asiatic Church was quite at one regarding the desirableness of continuing the practice of celebrating Easter on the 14th. Apollinarus did not object to the Laodiceans defending the Asiatic practice. He objected to the exegetical basis of that defence.

(d) The controversy between Apollinarus and the Laodiceans had a natural tendency to lead the upholders of both the Eastern and the Western practice to defend by exegetical arguments the ground which, quite apart from such considerations, their Churches had severally taken up. Hence the Asiatic Polycrates, in defending the Eastern practice in a letter to Bishop Victor of Rome, said that, "having gone through the entire holy Scripture," he had come to the conclusion that the Asiatic practice was "according to the gospel." These words hardly admit of any other inference than that Polycrates had made a special study of the Gospels, and had harmonised the Synoptists with John. The celebration on the 14th was suitable, not, as the Laodiceans had contended, because our Lord instituted the feast

on that day, but because the 14th was the day of the Lord's death.

(e) Finally, the Orientals, with the exception of the Laodicæans, abandoned their practice of celebrating Easter on the 14th, in consequence of the edict of the Council of Nice (324 A.D.), which required general conformity to the Western practice. From this point began what is known as the *Quartodeciman* controversy proper, raised by the schismatic course of the Laodicæans. The strong point of the Laodicæans, who maintained the 14th as the day on which Jesus had instituted the supper, was their ability to appeal to the Synoptic Gospels. On the other hand, manifestly the Western practice was quite independent of the settlement of the exegetical and critical point as between John and the Synoptists. Hence the supporters of the Western practice were quite free to admit, as they ultimately did, that if the case were to be decided by exegesis, the Laodicæans had the best of the argument. For there seemed a clear testimony of three to one in favour of the 14th as the day of institution. The Western writers were, moreover, naturally biassed in favour of a conclusion which seemed in some degree to invalidate the authority of John, the "Light of Asia." Hence it came about that from the fourth century onwards, as regards the dates of the Lord's Supper, Death, and Resurrection, the Synoptists gradually carried the day as against John in the general feeling of the Church, and it has been left practically to modern scholarship to place on a basis of sound argument both the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel as the work of the Apostle John, and its accuracy of statement regarding the last details of the Life that fulfilled the Passover.

APPENDIX A

Addition to note 1, p. 54.—Rendall (*Acts of the Apostles, in loc.*) suggests that the *Libertini* referred to would be Jews of Rome employed by Roman trading companies, and stationed at various ports on the Levant. He thinks that those mentioned in Acts vi. 9 formed only one synagogue.

Addition to note 4, p. 114.—Since this note was written, there has appeared Lietzmann's small monograph, *Der Menschensohn* (Freiburg, 1896). Following Wellhausen's doubtless true but, after all, as regards the main problem, irrelevant assertion that "son of man" is the natural Aramaic equivalent for "man,"

Lietzmann denies that the expression had any Messianic significance, either for the evangelists or any other New Testament writer. But what of Heb. ii. 6-9? Wellhausen's assertion (*Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, p. 346, note 1) that the fact of Jesus calling Himself *The Man*, instead of simply saying *I*, is no more surprising than would be the alleged fact of His having habitually called Himself the *Messiah*, is an instance of lapse into critical effrontery. Julius Cæsar, chronicler and general of the Gallic War, might write, as he frequently did, "The *General*(I) exhorted his (my) soldiers." According to Wellhausen, it would have been just as natural if he had been accustomed to write, "The *Soldier* exhorted his soldiers"! [For the suggestion of this Appendix, and the parallel of Julius Cæsar, the writer of the handbook is indebted to his old teacher, Dr. P. Schmiedel of Zurich, who was good enough to write to him on the subject when the First Edition appeared.]¹

Addition to note 1, p. 129.—Passages containing such apparently definite predictions as Matt. x. 23, Mk. ix. 1, seem to illustrate rather than to take from the truth of the characterisation given in the text of the eschatological teaching of Jesus. For the definiteness (witness the perplexities of the commentators) is elusive. Jesus doubtless foresaw and foretold the destruction of the Jewish state, but just at the point where His speech touches on this, it seems to strip itself of the form of *prophecy* and to put on the veil of *apocalypse*, see esp. Matt. xxiv.

¹ In the 3rd ed. of his *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*, Wellhausen has departed from the view that Jesus was accustomed to speak of Himself in the third person. In an elaborate article in his *Skizzen u. Verarbeiten* (Heft vi. Berlin, 1899), he reaches the conclusion that the sole basis of fact in the ascription of this usage to Jesus (as in the Gospels), is the circumstance that Jesus sometimes referred to the Messianic personage in terms of Dan. vii. 13 (cp. e.g. Mk. xiii. 26), without meaning to point to Himself, and gradually there grew up the idea reflected in our Gospels, that He had been accustomed to use the titular designation, founded on Dan. vii. 13, even in connections which contained no suggestion of the final Messianic glory. For a criticism of these views, and an account of the progress of the philological discussion regarding the force of the Aramaic equivalent for *Son of man*, see my *Eschatology of Jesus* (Melrose, 1904), pp. 145 ff.

INDEX WITH EXPLANATIONS

(THE *Index* relates specially to proper names or technical terms occurring in the Handbook. The *Explanations*, which are mostly in reference to names of authors, ancient or modern, will be found helpful by junior students. Greek, Hebrew, and Latin words are printed in italics, with the initials *G. H.* or *L.* affixed. The number indicates the page in the Handbook; *n.* means *footnote*.)

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- (1) *Antiquities of the Jews.*
- (2) *Wars of the Jews.*
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(2) *Quod Omnis Probus Liber* (=every good man free), 102 n. 1.

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